VIOLENCE IN SOUTH KOREAN SCHOOLS AND THE RELEVANCE OF PEACE EDUCATION

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to explore and analyse the culture of violence which is, arguably, deeply embedded in South Korean schooling and to suggest how this can be re-directed towards a culture of peace through peace education. In order to achieve this goal, fieldwork was conducted for a year, employing *critical ethnography* and *case studies*. Data gained from this fieldwork were analysed and discussed within the conceptual frameworks of *Bourdieu's symbolic violence* and peace education theories – *Hick's defining peace* in particular.

This finding of this thesis fall into four parts: *some selected cultural elements of everyday school life*; *symbolized and institutionalized violence; authoritative school management and increasingly atypical employment; and how to change this culture of violence to peace: possibilities of peace education?* These findings are discussed in relation to theories to show the ways in which socio-historical backgrounds and ideologies (e.g. colonized false ideologies) are infused in South Korean schools fostering a culture of violence, and the extent to which peace education may be relevant for changing the status quo by changing individuals' value bases, which, it is hoped, can bring changes to the wider society. Four themes are discussed: *school habitus, experienced as necessary in the field; symbolic violence in classrooms: misrecognizing the procedures of education; and defining peace in classrooms; pedagogical change, the possible educative remedy of transforming individuals to contribute to a culture of peace.*

Throughout the thesis, educational implications are elicited and subjected to scrutiny.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the research

This thesis aims to explore how a culture of violence is generated in schools, to identify the link between a culture of violence in society and in schools, and to offer suggestions about how such a culture can be ameliorated. As a case in point, I present the findings of an ethnographic study from secondary schools in South Korea. The theoretical foundations that inform my study are, on the one hand, Bourdieu's account of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991) – specifically as instantiated in school culture – and, on the other hand, the framework of peace education (Harris, 2013; Hicks, 1998). More details about aims, research questions and methods will be illustrated in Section 1.3. Prior to that, however, some personal and geo-political stage-setting is in order.

Somewhat unfortunately, in my view, peace education in South Korea tends to be discussed almost exclusively in terms of *reunification education* or, as found in educational programmes, in the name of *conflict resolution* or *nonviolent dialogue*. In current international educational discourse, however, the term 'peace education' is often confined to approaches or programmes that are meant to promote world peace or the upholding of universal human rights. The term 'peace education' as a theoretical foundation in this thesis is broader than both of these understandings. I propose to use the construct of peace education as an analytical

tool to explore the potential educational contribution that can be made to reform a school culture of violence. Hence, the research presented here is meant to explore the analytical aspects of peace education and to expand the range of peace-education initiatives in relation to schooling in South Korea.

The basic idea underlying this thesis is that we need to learn about war and conflict in order to understand the nature of peace and of peace culture and to try alternative ways to transform conflicts and wars (Salmon and Nievo, 2002). Wherever we live, a culture of violence and/or peace is represented to us in our daily lives and this furthers extends to society as a whole. Therefore, varied social phenomena can be explained with reference to the study of peace and violence. Moreover, peace can be analysed in educational frames at various levels of engagement. For instance, '(1) at the level of communication processes in micro-situations, (2) at the level of what is being communicated, (3) through a study of micro-processes they relate to larger segments of education and macro-society, (4) how the form and the content relate to each other, and (5) a macro-analysis of the whole educational set-up' (Haavelsrud, 1996, p. 69). These kinds of educational analysis are, in my view, the essential purpose of peace education. Hence, peace education can provide an analytical framework for looking at the ways in which individuals interact in a society, which can lead us to an understanding of broader social issues.

In addition, as Torres comments, '…schools should constitute arenas of discourse incorporating diverse knowledge-guiding interest, including empirical-analytical, historical-hermeneutic, and critical-emancipatory knowledge' (Torres, 1998, p. 23); thus the school has a critical role in peace education, although such

education should not be confined exclusively to school settings, since the home and the media also have this role. The transformation of students, teachers and administrators in schools through peace education can, in my view, realise some of the great potential in society of being re-directed towards a culture of peace. The next section, which introduces the geo-historical backdrop of this study, is intended to help readers (in particular those who hail from other cultural and social backgrounds than mine) to understand some educational problems in South Korea and the vision and prospects of the discourse on peace education which is explored in this thesis. Section 1.3 presents, in more detail than summarised above, the aims and research questions of this thesis. Along with Section 1.4, which provides a chapter-by-chapter overview, it gives an overall picture of the thesis in order to guide readers to understand what is explored, explained and discussed below.

1.2 Geo-historical backdrops

Theoretical frameworks of symbolic violence and its possible amelioration through peace education formed the basis for reflections on high schools in South Korea and on the local peace education discourse in general. From the late 1990s, South Korean schools have reflected a variety of conflicts in society, such as the increase of private education which widens educational gaps; bullying and school violence; the term 'the collapse of the school' (or 'classroom') has become current (Cho, 2000; Lee, 2002; Park and Kim, 2002; Ryu, 2001; Seo, 2003;Yi, 2001).

Since then, the conflicts raised in school seem to have escalated and people think the situation these days is steadily becoming more serious (*Pressian*, 2013).

An extremely high enthusiasm for education is a characteristic of the prevailing South Korean mindset (Mok & Welch, 2003). Extensive study with no leisure time, paving the way to university education, is the common condition of education for young people in South Korea. Privatization, standardization and the impact of economic globalisation have all influenced the contours of the country's education. Corporal punishment, together with the penalty system, is the source of ongoing debate concerning classroom management. Moreover, bullying, physical violence among students and suicide have become critical issues (Kim et al., 2010). In addition, there are still other controversial issues such as the matter of private education, and concerns over a new minority group of multicultural families,[1] widely believed to cause conflicts in schools. All of these phenomena are interrelated and may generate an unpeaceful ambience in many schools and classrooms.

As the causes of school violence are all interrelated and socio-politically structured (cf. Hicks, 1998), the problem of violence in South Korean education is a critical social phenomenon which has a close relationship to the prevailing macro systems and ideologies in society. This is why Bourdieu's concept of

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[1] The definition of *multicultural family* is a family consisting of people with a different racial, ethnic and cultural background from ours (South Korean) (Cho, 2006). The multicultural phenomenon in South Korea derives from demographic changes from the flow of migrant workers and female marriage immigrants from South-east Asia, South Asia and China. As the number of these people grew and as they settled in South Korea through marriage and formed families, the government chose such families as a policy target group. Social concern over them increased and the government and media started to name them *multicultural families,* representing this multicultural phenomenon in South Korea.

symbolic violence is proposed as a theoretical tool to explain this phenomenon. Symbolic violence is an appropriate theoretical tool because it exposes the ways in which education and school are structured to encourage and justify violence in schools as well as in society. More is said about this in Chapter 2.

Given the above description, the call for change in South Korean education is valid and such change requires a critical and holistic approach. The newly emerging educational approach of *peace education* has been chosen here as an analytical tool to make sense of, and, it is hoped, to alleviate some of these problems.

Peace education can be defined in many ways from a philosophical level to a very practical level (see further in Chapter 2). The primary goal of peace education is to transform the present human condition by changing social structures and patterns of thought which are dominated by a culture of violence (Reardon, 1988). Peace education is currently much discussed in South Korea. There, however, it unfortunately tends to be invoked exclusively in the context of pondering a prospective reunification with North Korea. Usually, NGOs provide peace education programmes of this type for schools and they also offer more general conflict resolution and/or non-violence programmes. From the year 2000, the administrations of ex-President Kim Daejung and Roh Moohyun fostered a mood of peace in relation to North Korea. Thus peace education was formally introduced into the national curriculum – both as a subsection of moral studies and as an independent educational programme in creative discretional activities. These educational interventions, however, brought about diverse political conflicts and they somehow disappeared from the curriculum after the start of the Lee

Myungbak administration in 2008.

However, in 2012, the superintendents of education in Seoul and the province of Gyunggi expressed an interest in peace education and asked for it to be reintroduced into schools in order to resolve the problem of school violence. Their efforts to bring in this new approach to tackle school violence are worthwhile for their own sake. However, the efforts were criticized because it was the superintendents' decision to introduce peace education in schools and they were the ones who conceptualized the topic. In other words, the concepts of violence and peace were not explored on the basis of the experiences and narratives of students and teachers, but from the comfort of an armchair. In my view, this reintroduction of peace education has not been effective enough in solving the actual problems of violence as they appear in the rough and tumble of schooling. Thus, despite these laudable efforts, the vicious cycle of school violence continues.

Two issues should be addressed accordingly. First, given that the covert meaning of 'reunification' is the change from a divided to a united Korean nation (Kang and Kwon, 2011), one might suppose that peace education could possibly hold the key to transforming the culture of violence in schools. Second, before implementing peace education programmes in schools, it seems reasonable to maintain the idea that peace education should be used more as an analytical tool than a direct educational method, in order to explore what is happening in schools today. To test this idea and to look for the possibility of such a transformation, I needed first to examine the generation of this culture of violence in society and then to see how it had been reproduced in schools. Additionally, peace education

as a tool to transform 'peacelessness' to a culture of peace is formed through exposure to the conditions of actual conflicts, either through narratives or through deep reflections on one's own positioning in a conflicted situation (Davis, 2004). Hence, I need to explore how the culture of violence is formed in South Korean schools and try to identify the link between the culture of violence there and in the wider society. In order to do so, my research uses a qualitative approach, by means of *critical ethnography* and *case studies* in school classrooms, as I explain further in the following section.

Presuming that the current types of violence in a society will be reflected in schools (Salmi, 1999), this research proposes to focus on three elements: first, violence in South Korean schools; second, violence in South Korea as a nation against the historical backdrop of its colonial legacy and the experience of war and dictatorship. Third, considering the violence mentioned above, this study seeks to explore the link between the two in order to analyse the essence of symbolic and structural violence in a school context.

1.3 Research aims, questions and methods

Schools are a representative institution of formal education. Generally speaking, there are three main and conflicting views about the relationship between formal education, individuals and society. Those are, first, that education improves society; second, that education reproduces society as it is; and last that education makes society worse and harms individuals (Harber, 2009). Usually, those who consider education from a functionalist point of view take the first approach and

emphasize the positive role of school education. Many formal educational policy documents and research studies highlight the first function. However, the second and third views are rarely mentioned in educational policy documents. As Harber (2004) points out, violence towards children which originates in the school system is common, systematic and internationally widespread, and schools play a significant role in encouraging violence in the wider society. Therefore, it is critical to examine what happens in schools and how people in schools experience violence. Furthermore, in order to find the root causes of such violence, it is vital to explore the link between the violence in schools and in society. In the above taxonomy, I posit myself within the second and third approaches in looking at the role of schooling in South Korea.

Before stating the explicit aims of my research, let me say something about the general hypothesis with which I started. South Korean schools are typically glamorized in the international media as a positive example of remarkable educational growth within a short time (*Economytoday*, 2014). Furthermore, it is also frequently highlighted that students in South Korea are achieving high scores in international performance assessments (OECD, 2012). At the same time, however, it is less often mentioned that South Korea ranks last among OECD countries in terms of the reported happiness level of students (*Pressian*, 2011; Han, 2011). The researcher's experience of being a student and a teacher in South Korean education, influenced the interpretation that the unhappiness and disaffection manifested by students is the result of a pervasive culture of violence and conflict, more often than not covert and symbolic. In other words, it is not so much that schools in South Korea are physically dangerous

places but rather that schooling in South Korea is structurally beleaguered by forms of interaction and attitudes that originate in a mindset or a *habitus* of violence. In short, this thesis is an extended attempt to explain this assumption.

Considering the contradictory situation of South Korean education, with high objective achievement but low subjective wellbeing, it is argued that it is critical to locate the features of the historical and economic background to this situation in the Japanese colonial period, the Korean War, the dictatorship, the change to democracy, the experience of financial crisis and so on, and to critically examine what role school has played in each era and how it has become a primary means of generating and reinforcing Korea's culture of violence.

Schools in South Korea have historically played a role in fostering the ideology of each epoch by reaffirming and reproducing its militaristic and patriotic values (Lee, 2005). From my experience, such values are still prevalent in current South Korean schools under the divided situation between North and South Korea and they are now mingled with new social ideologies, systems and technologies: globalisation, neo-liberalism, the internet and mobile phones, etc. All of these create conflicts and foster a violent culture in schools. In other words, a culture of violence is internalised among pupils and teachers, i.e. the *habitus* in question is reproduced by the educational process.

As already noted, violence as it occurs in South Korean schools is relatively indirect and structural, rather than overt. This being so, I focus on how a *symbolic* culture of violence is formed in schools and how it is constituted and reconstituted through the interactions among students and teachers. This analysis is necessary to pave the way for the more reformative and reconstructive aspect of

this thesis: namely, to explore how peace education can be relevant in ameliorating the current situation in South Korean schools and to suggest possible ways of re-directing the culture of violence towards a culture of peace. This assumption is, in my view, practical and plausible because the primary hypothesis of peace education is that a change in individual mind-sets or moral characters can lead to the transformation of a society. As we inquire into ways of changing the violent status quo and of creating a culture of peace, it is instructive to adapt the positive role of peace education in order to transform the school by its means through an educative process. Hence, by using the sociological and pedagogical concepts of symbolic violence, on the one hand, and peace education, on the other, it becomes possible to think of peace education as a solution or a new educational approach that will bring about such changes in schools and thence in society.

Based on these ideas, the aims of this study are fivefold:

- To explain the constructs of symbolic violence and peace education and use them as tools to analyse school culture

- To describe the current problem of violence in South Korean schools

- To analyse the relationship between education and violence in order to examine the root causes of the problem of violence in South Korean schools

- To trace connections between wider conflicts and the culture of violence in these schools

- To explore within a holistic peace-education framework effective strategies to transform the prevailing culture of violence in South Korean schools into a culture of peace

In order to attain these research aims, the thesis addresses the following more specific research questions, which are based on the constructs, concepts and frameworks of symbolic violence and peace education to be explored in Chapter 2:

- How is violence embedded within the routine operation of classrooms and practices in South Korea? For example, do South Korean teachers support the idea of control or regulation in schools? And do South Korean teachers justify the idea of aggression when they teach students?

- How do South Korean students perceive and experience violence (directly and indirectly) in schools and classrooms? For example, how do they experience and perceive corporal punishment and the penalty system? And how do examination systems affect the lives of students in schools?

- How do South Korean students and teachers explain peace and violence in schools and in the wider society? For example, how do students and teachers think about examinations and the penalty system in relation to social and, economic aspects of society? And how do they perceive the regulation or control mechanisms in schools in relation to peace and violence? What are the commonalities and differences between teacher and student perceptions? Why do they differ?

- How do students and teachers form their own sub-cultures based on their knowledge and beliefs in relation to the prevailing South Korean ideology? For example, how are anti-Communist perceptions represented in the discourses of students and teachers?

- How do the cultural beliefs and ideas of students and teachers interact in schools?

- How does their classroom interaction relate to school violence and national violence?

In order to answer these questions, this research uses a qualitative approach, incorporating *critical ethnography* and *case studies*. Both methodologies are appropriate because this research aims to describe a culture of violence as it exists in selected schools. The fieldwork was conducted mainly in S high school, and three more schools (D middle school; Y girls' high school and G high school) were used for comparative purposes. The fieldwork started in September 2011 and finished in November 2012. The fieldwork used observations, interviews and a qualitative questionnaire including a draw-and-tell method.

The findings are analysed according to theories of symbolic violence and peace education. By doing so, this study seeks to present how peace and violence are interrelated and how they are reflected at the micro level in South Korean schools.

1.4. Overview of the chapters

This section offers an overview of the thesis, which follows the classic construction of six main chapters.

The first chapter, the present Introduction, consists of four sections. The first introduced the background of the research, presenting why and how the research project was conducted. Following this section, some geo-historical backdrops were introduced in order to help readers understand the basic history of South Korean society and to argue the need for peace education in this context. In the third section, research aims, questions and methods were outlined. The fourth section overviews the whole thesis.

The second chapter is devoted to a literature review and an exploration of the theoretical frameworks of this thesis, in the form of conceptual clarifications and a critical literature review. The chapter aims to provide a conceptual understanding of theoretical background of this thesis. Since the thesis uses two main theories – those of Bourdieu's symbolic violence and peace education – the chapter is constructed accordingly.

The third chapter sets out the research methodology. Here I describe the methodologies used in this research – critical ethnography and case studies – and show how I designed my research: for example, how I gained access to the research field and what the research setting and participants were like. I also offer reflections on research process and what ethical issues to consider in the research.

The fourth chapter is intended to provide analytical pictures – ethnographic observations. Using methodologies introduced in the previous

chapter, I broadly analyse the data under four themes via selected cultural elements of everyday school life: symbolised and institutionalised violence, authoritative school management and increasingly atypical employment; and finally ways of changing this culture of violence to peace: the possibility of peace education.

The fifth chapter is the discussion chapter linking the theories discussed in Chapter 2 to the data presented in Chapter 4. The themes of the discussions are how violence is symbolically practiced and how peace education can suggest a way of changing it. This chapter is organized into four sections: school habitus, experienced as necessary in the field; symbolic violence in the classroom – misrecognizing the procedures of education; defining peace in classrooms; and finally pedagogical change, the possible educative remedy of transforming individuals to embrace a culture of peace.

The concluding chapter reviews the entire research process. In particular, it evaluates the theoretical and practical discoveries made and the limitations of the work, suggesting areas of schooling in South Korea which would benefit from further investigation.

This thesis will hopefully present reasonable arguments contributing to an understanding of South Korean schooling, as well as providing reasons why peace education is needed in this context.

CHAPTER 2. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS AND

CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a contextual understanding of the main theoretical constructs informing my research project, namely symbolic violence and peace education. It will also provide some background information about South Korean society and education. The chapter is in four sections: the idea of symbolic violence and its relevance to school culture; the history of violence in South Korea; violence in schools in South Korea; and peace education as a means of transforming the culture of violence in schools and society. The chapter has been constructed on the principle of moving from a more general and abstract understanding to a more specific contextual understanding.

To construct a theoretical framework for the thesis, I explored the basic concepts and ideas of *symbolic violence* on the one hand and *peace education* on the other. The Bourdieuean idea of *symbolic violence* needs to be understood in the context of Bourdieu's more general writing about social reproduction, social fields and *habitus* and I shall discuss this further as the chapter progresses. At this juncture, however, it should be recognised that *symbolic violence* operates at the level of pedagogical action and it has close relations with institutional systems.

For Bourdieu (1977, p. 54), social relations in the home and classroom (at the micro level) need to be connected to those of the school (at the meso level) in ways that influence – and are influenced by – broader social and cultural patterns (at the macro level) which tend towards maintaining the status quo. Paying attention to these different levels of interaction in terms of the processes of symbolic violence can uncover many subtle and otherwise obscured practices of cultural reproduction. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence contribute(s) to the reproduction of dominant relations between groups or classes (social reproduction). Therefore, Bourdieu's symbolic violence is considered a promising approach for describing and analysing South Korean schools in the context of a culture of violence. In my search for relevant readings on symbolic violence, *Bourdieu*, *symbolic violence*, *a culture of violence* and/or *cultural violence* and *school culture* were selected as key-words.

As Hart (1998) recommends, some specific key-words were chosen to guide my review of the literature on the current situation in South Korea. Following the historical transition of South Korea (Kang, 2002), I found that *colonization, Korean War, dictatorship, democratic movement* and *globalisation* emerged as key-words for exploring the history of violence in this society. *Educational gap, private education, collapse of public schooling, human rights of students, human rights (or authority) of teachers* and *multicultural education* were chosen as key-words for analysing conflicts in schools. These key-words were chosen according to a report that asked people what the most serious problem was in South Korean education (Gallup, 2013). In addition, the analysis of recent research articles in the *Korean Journal of Sociology of Education* was decided.

This journal was chosen because the articles tend to focus on social aspects of education problems in general. The discussions which were found there were necessary because of the local and global characteristics of peace education and the need to understand the root causes of violence in a given context (Davis, 2004; Harris, 2004).

The second strand of my theoretical framework – peace education – is an umbrella term for a body of educational initiatives concerned with both peace-promoting action and research (Harris, 2013). Research on peace education focuses on problems of violence and helps us to understand how the use of force violates both human needs and human rights. By conducting rigorous research into such issues, peace education aims to transform a society, step by step, from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. Based on this overarching aim, *Hicks' diagram of peace and violence* (1988) was used to analyse school culture in South Korea. However, this diagram was critically modified by applying examples of violence and peace derived from analysing the situation in my country. The modified diagram was thus used both as a theoretical and an analytical framework for the research.

In addition, in order to understand the basic philosophy and educational aspects of peace education, peace education was situated within the more general rubric of values education, in general, and character education, in particular. This theoretical manoeuvre, further confirms my choice of a perspective on peace education and gives further reason to use peace education as an analytical tool in the study. Subsequently, *values education*, *moral and character education* was chosen as key-words. For the more general discussion of peace education, the

terms *peace education, education for peace* and *a culture of peace* were selected as key-words. Moreover, in order to ascertain the role of schooling in relation to peace education, I chose *schooling* and *violence* as further key-words. Last, peace education discourses and practices in the South Korean context were explored by setting *peace education in South Korea* as a main key-word. This discussion aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of peace education in South Korea and analytically demonstrate the need to conduct a more rigorous examination of the reformative potential of holistic and critical peace education in this context.

Using ERIC (the Education Resources Information Centre), Google Scholar and the e-library of the University of Birmingham, I found that peer-reviewed articles in English were the primary sources and I chose those written between 2000 and spring 2014. However, in order to find more relevant research studies to consider, I also examined articles written in Korean in the same period, using Google Scholar and riss4u.net as databases. In addition, I bore in mind that writings on peace education started in 1945 and are still continuing. This is because of the international consensus on peace education as a key means of promoting a culture of peace in society, which was reached for the first time in 1945.

2.2 The idea of symbolic violence and its relevance to school culture

Violence literally is behaviour which is intended to hurt, injure or kill people (Collins, 2009). Violence appears in either physical or psychological forms. In

either form, it is uncontested that violence harms people. However, the most common understanding of violence, for example in the media, usually focuses on direct, physical forms of violence used in practice by individuals or groups of people. This literal understanding of violence, however, does not conjecture what is behind the acts of violence. That is to say, it does not identify more covert and/or structural forms of violence that occur in a society and often hide behind the overt form. In order to make sense of this aspect, this study uses the construct of *symbolic violence* to explain the pervasiveness of violence in a society, underlying its various forms and expressions of violence.

Section 2.2, below, seeks to illustrate how this thesis uses the term *violence* under the general frame of *Bourdieu's symbolic violence*. Symbolic violence explains how cultures of violence in schools are related to the wider society and are represented in and shape students' and teachers' thoughts and beliefs, further informing school culture. In addition, the discussion of symbolic violence illustrates how violence is symbolized and reflected in schools, reproducing cultures of violence. Accordingly, this section is organized into three sections: *understanding of symbolic violence, cultures of violence in accordance with symbolic violence* and, finally, *symbolic violence in relation to school culture*.

2.2.1 Understanding of symbolic violence

Violence typically occurs when a society is oppressive. As Bourdieu explains, a society comprises social relations which can perpetuate violence to people,

structurally imposing symbolized violence-generating and violence-reinforcing systems, making people become conformist so that the dominant can retain their power. The 'dominant' create symbolic cultural systems and inculcate the 'necessary' *habitus* among people to adapt to them. Accordingly, Grenfell and Kelly (2004) explain symbolic violence as the *habitusness of habitus*. *Habitus* is a term for socially constructed self-conceptions; it implies a sense of one's place and a sense of the place of others. In other words, *habitus* implies social classification and through *habitus* people build a world of 'common sense', a world that seems self-evident to them (Bourdieu, 1989). Although the term *habitus* is now typically seen as a technical term derived from Bourdieu's writings – and will mainly be used in that incarnation in this thesis – it does have a long and respectable history to draw on, harking back, through Aquinas, to Aristotle's concept of *hexis* (a complex trait of character, involving emotional, motivational and identity-conferring elements), a concept which lays the foundation of old and new forms of so-called character education (Ignatow, 2009).

Habitus, as understood by Bourdieu, derives from and defines the agent's *social field* and is typically (at least in modern capitalist societies) formed through acts of symbolic violence where the dominant power system is reinforced and perpetuated. A *social field*, here, means a structured system of social positions occupied either by individuals or institutions defined by specific capital, history and logic (Grenfell and Kelly, 2004); this system is structured internally in terms of power relations. In this sense, 'each field has a different logic and taken-for-granted structure of necessity and relevance which is both the product and producer of the *habitus* which is specific and appropriate to the field' (Jenkins,

2002, p. 85). The *habitus* of people therefore reflects the dominant systems and power structures of their society which, in turn, symbolize and represent domination and/or oppression.

It might be argued that Bourdieu here paints a rather bleak picture of human society in general and that he fails to account for societies that are not characterized or driven by symbolic violence, for example non-capitalist societies present or past. This charge of over-generalization is not, however, relevant to this thesis because, as is argued in subsequent sections – Bourdieu's description fits South Korean society like a glove. Hence, Bourdieu's analysis seems, for present purposes at least, to be perfectly apt.

One of the chief means by which symbolic violence is perpetuated and imposed on the masses is through education, in particular, higher or elite education which confers symbolic cultural capital on the elite and turns them into guardians of the reigning social order. Having an elite education thus becomes cultural capital, which is symbolically valued and typically represented as the 'merit' of the individual. Individuals then *misrecognize* it as individual ability and miss the hidden meaning of the social and cultural inequality and ideologies which underlie it. To prove this, Bourdieu (1977) shows the positive relations between cultural capital and academic attainment, maintaining that these relations highlight the inequality of the possession of capital among the different social classes. The point here is that cultural capital is designated valuable by the dominant groups in society who impose on others the need to possess this critical currency in order to compete. Thus, symbolic violence, as the vehicle of an oppressive social order, is fed down the social pecking order into schools.

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According to Bourdieu (1989), systems and capital (economic, social and cultural) are all symbolic and domain-specific. However, symbolized power or systems usually favour the dominant classes of society. Hence, according to Bourdieu's social classification, an obvious distinction can be drawn between the overt structures of a social system and its symbolic products. In order to reinforce the power of the dominant, those who have power use symbolic violence, albeit often unwittingly. This is why Bourdieu (1989) argues that one has to change the way of world-making, which is constituted by *symbolic power*, in order to change the world. Again, this idea is not as novel or revolutionary as it may seem. Aristotle made the same point 2300 years ago when he said that it is not enough to change behavioural patterns to change people; you also have to change the way they understand themselves (namely, their self-concepts or, as Bourdieu would put it, their *habitus*) and the world around them (Kristjánsson, 2013).

Symbolic violence focuses on social structures and their symbolic legitimation in ways which cause human suffering. People may experience violence and oppression because of cultural norms that restrict their behaviours. For instance, the popular language used by working-class children may be penalized by the dominant system (Grenfell and Kelly, 2004). Bourdieu (1977) highlights a visible difference between bourgeois and working-class language, with the former having more educationally profitable linguistic capital, (academic language). Therefore, the language that schools expect children to use is typically bourgeois language with its proclivity to abstraction, formalism, intellectualism and so on. Its forms become the valued expressions of a socially constituted disposition towards language. Accordingly, children without such linguistic

competence, i.e. the desired *linguistic habitus*, such as academic and moral literacy, may get lower scores in tests than those who have linguistic competence and they may be punished because of their low achievements.

Social structures are, as already explained, built upon and reproduce *cultural capital* which, while arbitrary from a true meritocratic perspective (i.e. does not reflect true individual merit), is legitimized and imposed in order to constitute and reconstitute social categorization and social domination. This process is achieved by people's *misrecognition* of the hidden meaning, values and symbols of the culture and the system of a society. To illustrate, a view of schooling as a prima facie legitimate or neutral process is fostered by symbolic violence exercised by the educational system (Jenkins, 2002). That is, the illusion that the educational system has no relation to the overall structure of power relations is fostered by the pedagogical process. In reality, the state education system provides a limited space of social mobility to a limited number of people in society and gives the means to maintain the power of the dominating group or class. However, the education system is *misrecognized* by the subordinated people who believe that it gives everyone an equal opportunity of an education because of the illusion that the state educational system is apparently is not directly paid for; that it appears to have the open access of being 'free' (Jenkins, 2002).

Through this misrecognition process, symbolic violence is inscribed in the *habitus* through which people's practice of their culture reinforces the conflicting relations between the symbolic and actual (Grenfell, 2008). This is a reason why what Bourdieu calls *pedagogical action (PA)* is, objectively, symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977). *PA*'s power enforces the dominant power to remain

and form *habitus* to adapt to cultural arbitrariness rather than to challenge it. The power and violence of the macro level of society are delivered to individuals through *PA* and this *PA* is presented through *pedagogical authority*. *PA* becomes violent as the authority is embedded and as it appears in the *educational system*. Violence in this sense is, as noted at the beginning of this section, not physical nor direct but structural and indirect.

PA, in turn, entails what Bourdieu calls *pedagogical work,* which is a process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce a durable training, *i.e. a habitus*, the product of internalizing the principles of a cultural arbitrary authority capable of perpetuating itself after *PA* has ceased and thereby perpetuating in practice the principles of this internalized arbitrary. Education, seen through this lens, is considered as 'the process through which a cultural arbitrary is historically reproduced through the medium of production of the *habitus* productive of practices in conforming with that cultural arbitrary, that is equivalent to the cultural order and of the transmission of genetic capital in the biological order' (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 31-32).

As explained already, symbolic violence implies an indirect and cultural mechanism of social orders and/or restraints rather than direct and repressive social control. The 'gentle-seeming' control mechanism, which is legitimated as the common-sense norms and culture of one's society, contributes to the systemic reproduction of power relations in society. In this respect, education constitutes the ideal means to perform such violence, structurally and indirectly, above any other forms, because it latches itself onto a process that is generally considered natural and uncontested: of helping develop and/or educate the young. The kinds

of symbolized violence may vary from one context to another but they eventually encourage a general culture of violence in society as a whole and make people's *habitus* amenable to cultural messages that reinforce the violence but are closed to messages that challenge it. Eventually the symbolic violence in a whole society contributes to a global culture of violence. The term 'culture of violence' may be a little misleading, however, for the violence assumes very different forms in different social fields. This is further discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 Cultures of violence in accordance with symbolic violence

As discussed in the section above, symbolic violence works as the internalized legitimation of inequality and hierarchy, ranging from sexism and racism to intimate expressions of class power (Bourdieu, 1997). Accordingly, Bourdieu defines *symbolic violence* as the imposition of systems of symbolism and meanings upon groups and classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate parts of the reigning culture (Jenkins, 2002). Culture, in this sense, goes beyond cultural taste(s), since it explains the way in which those tastes arise out of and are mobilised through struggles for social recognition or status (Jenkins, 2002). In other words, culture is not divorced from the concepts of class and ideology but rather defined in terms of its functional relationship to the dominant social formation and power relations in society (Giroux, 1981).

In this regard, symbolic violence takes its form in the culture of a society, tacitly justifying both direct and structural violence. Violence symbolically plays

this role under the guise of maintaining social well-being, security and social order. It will typically be expressed as 'keeping peace in society'. It denies any ways of breaking peace that involve resisting or challenging socially accepted orders, well-being and values. The act of resistance or challenging is restated as an act of violence which disturbs the peace in society. What most people fail to see is that conceptualising in this way the act which questions the status quo of the society and exposes it as a system of violence, is actually itself a form of violence, albeit a symbolic one.

As mentioned earlier, there is an obvious distinction between the actual structure of a social system and its symbolic products. Here, I would concur with Galtung (1990) in that the actual structure of a social system is somehow camouflaged so as to build a culture of violence and to prevent people from resisting this culture. In other words, cultural violence is symbolized as whatever is 'the right' in a society and it makes acts of direct and structural violence look, and even feel, right – or at least not wrong. For example, Galtung (1990) illustrates this through the 'moral colour' of acts that are defined as red/wrong, green/right and yellow/acceptable in societies. In this way, Communists are often referred to 'the Reds'. As South Korea and North Korea are confronting each other on the basis of conflicting ideologies – democracy/capitalism versus Communism (see further in Section 2.3) – those who criticize the political system in South Korea are stigmatized as 'the Reds', meaning Communists who follow North Korean ideology and their leaders, who thus have betrayed their own country, South Korea. Therefore, socially, it is acceptable to punish them according to the National Security Law in South Korea under the stated purpose

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of protecting democracy. In addition to blaming the Reds, the state of division is invoked to justify the need for strong military power, thus making the mandatory military system still seem valid for the sake of security. Again, if anyone questions the military system in South Korea, they are doing the *wrong* thing and they become 'the Reds'. In contrast, a person who performs his military service well is doing the *right* thing for society.

A culture of violence can thus consist of militarism, which justifies warfare, and sexism, which causes gender inequality, as well as nationalism and racism (in the form of racial classification) which derives from colonization (Kaldor, 2006). Galtung (1990, p. 291), defines 'cultural violence' as 'those aspects of culture, the *symbolic* sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) – that can be used to justify and legitimate direct or structural violence. Stars, crosses and crescents; flags, anthems and military parade; the ubiquitous portraits of Leaders; inflammatory speeches and posters – all these come into mind'.

As already discussed, cultures of violence are practised and internalized by people through various means. Cultures of violence become institutionalised through symbolic power, as Bourdieu mentions, and this becomes *the culture* of one's society. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that a culture of violence is encouraged in society by the use of symbolic violence in diverse social fields. It justifies social classification and domination – structural violence – and can even at times be made to justify direct violence, such as the silencing of protesters. The justification and internalization of pervasive cultural violence through symbolic

violence thus creates a certain violence-ridden *habitus* and promotes power to construct a hegemonic version of reality (Bourdieu, 1977).

War or the other forms of massive violence used by the government are considered acceptable, while *daily violence* which occurs at the micro-interactional level – interpersonal, domestic and delinquent (Scheper-Hughes, 1992; 1996; 1997) – is often criticized for causing conflict and destroying peace. However, this inevitably raises the question why the former violence is considered legitimate whereas the latter is illegitimate and why the latter form of violence extends across society; namely, what makes certain groups of people act out such violence? Moreover, it is important to find out how this latter kind of violence is explicitly blamed as well as implicitly perpetuated in the social system. That is to say, it is critical to explore what is symbolized as right and good and how only certain kinds of overt violence are accepted as a means of creating social balance and well-being – peace. Exploring the relationship between the actual and symbolized structures of violence in the given social field – such as South Korean schools (see Chapter 4 in this thesis) – is needed to bring out the contours of this elusive relationship.

Among diverse social institutions, including the family, schools are one of the powerful determining forces within society. That is, schools guide children towards full social membership as an adult through, first, learning to follow rules and regulations in schools; second, being taken care of by teachers; third, absorbing the knowledge and skills transmitted from teachers within an environment dictated by the curriculum, the timetable and the examination. In addition to the published curriculum, there is the hidden curriculum, the routine

norms and practices which reinforce children's status, expectations and values (Wyness, 2006, pp. 129-130). Although Bourdieu himself tended to derive his examples from institutions of higher education, schools form an exciting testing ground for his analysis. This study looks at school culture to explore how education is using symbolic violence deliberately to rationalize a culture of violence. This will be discussed in general terms in the next section.

2.2.3 Symbolic violence in relation to school culture

The common-sense rationale for education in schools fits into the dominant idea of education as the transmission of knowledge deemed to be objectively worthwhile and/or that of education as an instrumental process for the attainment of certain utilitarian and/or economic aims. However, on close Bourdieuean inspection, the way that school education is structured is inconsistent with and counter-productive to the notion of democratic living. On a Bourdieuean analysis, 'education is a political act [of] which its basis is the protection of the interests of the ruling class ... Education is thus more than a mechanism – that is an *ideological force* of tremendous import. On the one hand, (education is) *a lived-ideology…* and on the other hand, education generates *theoretical ideologies …* [In sum] Education is the *manipulation of consciousness* and it functions largely without serious opposition of any sort' (Kelly, 1986, p. 69; p. 81).

The discussions above give us the idea that schools and classrooms are both cultural fields (Alexander, 2000). That is to say, schools are *fields* which

educate people on the basis of certain items of knowledge within which values, norms and ideologies are inherent. In schools, teachers inadvertently play their role in order to deliver certain items of knowledge and values which serve the status quo of the society. Students are typically expected to digest knowledge and values uncritically as taught and to produce their own capital – cultural, social and symbolic. Throughout this process, symbolic violence appears in pedagogical actions. Pedagogy connects the apparently self-contained act of teaching with the culture, structure and mechanism of social control (Alexander, 2000). Through pedagogical action, students and teachers co-create a *habitus* which serves to maintain social categorization and domination – and this is how symbolic violence is performed in schools. Symbolic violence often forms the very essence of school culture and the process of pedagogical action typically reflects the rationalization of a culture of violence in schools. My analysis below basically follows Bourdieu's research in his book *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (1977), adding current discussions and research findings on symbolic violence in relation to school culture.

Schools organize systems to foster inequalities and to hide the fact of inequality in society. Inequality originates from social classification and domination and it becomes even more systemized and justified through the inculcation of the dominant *habitus*. For example, as briefly alluded to above, Bourdieu (1977) illustrates the possession of linguistic capital and cultural capital and their relation of these two to communication which leads to the primary principle underlying the inequalities in the academic attainment of children from different social classes. The language used in schools is manipulated by the

system and some of it is preselected as important, 'elegant' and academic. Therefore, those who possess such language will probably have higher academic results, while those who do not have the same level of linguistic capital are likely to have lower ones. The gap between classes widens as a society become more unequal in terms of the possession of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

The inequality with which these forms of capital are possessed and its relation to school education is masked under individual academic capability and giving credibility to the ideology of social mobility – to make people believe that school will provide everyone with equal opportunities to be educated. In this regard, the examination system is considered a tool for selecting good students and checking whether or not students have absorbed the knowledge properly. It is justified as a necessary means to evaluate students' abilities objectively and meritocratically. The power of examination in schools gives authority to teachers who are responsible for delivering the knowledge demanded by tests and forms a culture of competition among students. Therefore, students get involved in this competition and learn to misrecognize the objective relations between social class and their performance in schools. In addition, the highly competitive system makes students passive in the learning process and encourages them to be conformists with regard to school regulations and authorities and to get used to being controlled by teachers and the system. All of these manipulations draw a veil over social inequalities and other political structures in a situation where schools are explicitly symbolized as places of acquiring objective knowledge for a better life. Consequently, 'all school culture is necessarily standardized and

ritualized, i.e. "routinized" by and for the routine of the work of schooling, by and for exercise of repetition and reconstitution which must be sufficiently stereotyped to be repeated ad infinitum under the direction of coaches themselves as little irreplaceable as possible (e.g. manuals summaries, synopses, religious and political breviaries and catechisms, glosses, commentaries, cribs, encyclopaedias, corpuses, selections, past examination papers, model answers, compilations of dictums, apothegms, mnemonic verses, topics, etc.)' (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 58-59).

The above analysis shows that my notion of South Korean schools as 'violent' has a theoretical grounding in Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic violence' – the way that schools repress and do harm to children through structural acts, rituals, labelling and the power of words rather than through physical violence (Davis, 2004, p. 12). In this context, not only direct violence such as war but also indirect violence, for instance, economic inequality, is reflected in schools. Undoubtedly, whether or not we want to take the whole Bourdieuean framework on board, schooling has historically been used to fuel social conflict in the form of deepening inequality and promoting ideologies of devaluation (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Schools are all weighed down with incredible bureaucratic machinery for strictly determining which pupils shall be expelled, which promoted and which must take the year again (Davis, 2004). Nevertheless, according to Kaplan et al. (2002), there is a growing realization that indiscipline and therefore conflict in schools is a direct result of teaching methods which encourage competition. As Torres suggests earlier (see Section 1.1), the school should ideally be made accountable for encouraging the re-direction of the culture of violence towards a culture of peace through promoting peace education. I return to this ideal aim of

schooling at a later point in the chapter.

My reading of Bourdieu is thus explicitly *anti-deterministic*. I believe that his description fits certain socially constructed forms of culture, for example, school culture, but that symbolic violence is not an *inevitable* part of any culture, and that just as prevailing power relations can be strengthened through pedagogical action, they can also be weakened or even undermined (as argued, for instance, by Yang, 2013). Much depends here on whether we read Bourdieu through a modernist lens, for instance that of critical theory, which aims at empowerment and ultimate liberation from oppression, or through a postmodern lens which aims at the academic deconstruction of power structures but otherwise leaves everything as it is. As becomes clearer when peace education is discussed, my reading of symbolic violence retains the emancipatory impulse of the modernist project, since the belief that peace education can not only expose and deconstruct existing forms of symbolic violence through armchair philosophizing, but can actually deconstruct them in practice: namely, gradually turn a culture of violence into a culture of peace.

To illustrate some of the above constructs, it is instructive to review some empirical evidence. Herr and Anderson (2003) explored how violence is generated symbolically within schools, reproducing larger systems of structural violence and spawning local instances of emotional and physical violence. They conducted a year-long ethnographic study in a public middle school (school-wide and single sex classes) and identified two critical incidents in all-male classes where students were all from low-income neighbourhoods and most of them were African-American. They discussed that, first, symbolic violence appears in the failure of

the teachers to recognize the students' abilities; second, that interrupting symbolic violence at one level has the potential to initiate interruptions from the micro to the macro level. They argue that the multicultural discourse in the US context strengthens the idea that the issues of violence and alienation of minority communities can be analysed via the idea of symbolic violence, which explores how cultural reproduction (e.g. cultural capital) links to social reproduction.

In the given context of schools, the increased rate of school violence by students is usually taken to be critical. Typically, youth violence is thus symbolized as delinquent behaviour and those young people who have behaved violently are likely to be excluded from schools or be otherwise penalized. What tends to be overlooked is the symbolic background of the overt delinquency. For instance, Goldstein (2005) explored how symbolic and institutional violence shaped students' understandings of themselves within the educational context. In order to do so, she conducted research on 'The Becoming Teachers Program' and explored teacher trainees' discussions on diverse issues in relation to violence such as race and schooling, metal detector and school violence in particular.

In addition, Connolly and Hearly (2004) drew upon the concept of symbolic violence to explore how a local neighbourhood represents the parameter of the social world of girls by looking at the experience of 7-8-year-old working-class girls in Belfast, Northern Ireland and their attitudes toward education. In order to explain the influence of the local neighbourhood on working-class girls' attitudes to education, they used symbolic violence in explaining that they imposed particular forms of femininity. For instance, the working-class girls appeared to acquire a specifically gendered *habitus* constructed through

discourses on romance, marriage and motherhood. Hence, they find it 'right' to leave school at an early age to find local employment and adopt the role of wife and mother.

Connolly and Hearly (2004) also conducted research comparing two groups of 10-11- year boys – one middle class and the other working class – living in Belfast, Northern Ireland. They focused on locality as a critical factor of symbolic violence and thus examined how processes and structures of social inequality are experienced differently. Locality as the generator of symbolic violence influences working-class boys through the internalization of social structures and the processes of inequality that impinge directly on their lives – creating *habitus*, accordingly, that contributes to the reproduction of their subordinated positions. To illustrate, Connolly and Hearly explored the future plans of working-class boys to go to grammar school or university later. They argue that the objective social structure for working-class boys is disadvantaged, that through lack of educational opportunities, working-class boys are effectively prevented from routinely venturing out of their local areas because they are forced to live and physically defend a localised existence. Therefore, their *habitus* are often dominated by a strong sense of locality and the sense that education has little meaning for them and school has been reduced to a ritual of attendance.

A few research studies have used Bourdieu's theory in South Korea and these tend to stress the relationship between cultural, social capital and academic achievement (see e.g. Baek and Kim, 2007). In addition, Baek continued his studies to explore teachers' understanding and perception of cultural capital – focusing on teachers' *habitus* and their perceptions about the possession of and

rewarding mechanism for cultural capital (Baek, 2008; 2012). The findings were different from Bourdieu's study, in that cultural capital did not seem to have a strong influence on students' academic attainment; teachers also have said that there is no close link between them. I see this research as problematic, because the parameters of cultural capital that they have chosen are based on Western cultural elements such as were used by Bourdieu in France at the time, for example, watching opera and visiting museums and the possession of linguistic competence. Kim and Baek add the experience of going abroad (travel and/or English study abroad) and the amount of reading, but it is still unclear why these factors were used to represent cultural capital in South Korea. For example, as English became important globally, those who have a mid-to-low economic background overextend their budget to go abroad occasionally (Hong, 2010). In addition, it has still not been examined and/or explored whether English as a language has become more important as capital than Korean in South Korean schools. That is to say, the contexts of South Korea these days and France in Bourdieu's time are very different; thus the primary source of inequality in regard to academic achievement is likely to be different too. Therefore, in my view, the exploration and/or examination of whatever cultural elements are symbolized as 'high' and 'right' and whatever other elements are symbolized as 'low' and 'wrong' in schools should be preceded by an account of the historical transition of socio-politics and economics in South Korea and its influence on schooling. Moreover, there is no substitute for actually conducting fieldwork and interviews in the schools themselves to reveal hidden sources of capital and oppression. Hence, the empirical work that I have undertaken in this thesis.

Unfortunately, it is hard to find research studies on symbolic violence and its relevance to school culture or educational problems in South Korea which do not focus on mere academic achievement. However, from my perspective, it is critical to examine the primary causes of the violence producing educational problems in South Korea. In order to comprehend such complex root-causes of violence, which originate from historical experience, and to find new educational approaches for the transformation of the status quo, such as peace education, it is reasonable to employ Bourdieu's construct of symbolic violence as it has been elucidated above. Therefore, symbolic violence is used in this thesis as an analytical tool to examine the link between the micro level of school culture and the macro level of system, culture and so on. In other words, the thesis explores how diverse forms of symbolic violence are playing a role in generating the *habitus* of students and teachers, perpetuating a culture of violence in South Korean schools. In order to make sense of the forms that symbolic violence takes in South Korea in general and its schools in particular much more needs to be said, however, about the context of the social field in question. Hence, the need for Section 2.3.

To sum up, studies of school culture which draw upon Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence explore how violence is experienced in educational settings and how it is perpetuated in their system. But detailed empirical studies are needed to ascertain what, precisely, constitutes symbolic violence in the given school culture. For example, we cannot simply transfer Bourdieu's France of the 1960s–70s to South Korea today. According to the above discussion, it is reasonable to argue that school as a socio-cultural field creates and reproduces its

culture, which leads students and teachers to involve themselves in constituting and reconstituting the dominant societal culture of violence. At the same time, however, on an anti-deterministic reading, employing symbolic violence to analyse problems of school culture also opens up a space for the possibility of changing the school culture and hence of challenging the status quo of the given society.

2.3 The history of violence in South Korean society

The current problem of symbolic violence in South Korea cannot be understood without going through the entire history of the last century. The country's complex history in this short period brings up many conflict-ridden issues in politics, economics, culture, society and education.

Historically, conditions for Korea (both North and South) across half of the 20th century were harsh. Before the Korean War, Korea had been under Japanese colonial control. Along with colonization came 'Western style' education – school education was introduced as a way of 'enlightening' the people of Korea. So a plausible case can be made that school education in a modern sense had its start with colonization (Lee, 2005). In reality, throughout this period in the colonized country, school was used as a tool to progressively homogenize Koreans and prepare them for warfare. School education during the colonial period was thus the beginning of militarized education.

When the Second World War ended in 1945, Korea, as a rising nation, officially became an independent country. Unluckily, however, the two world super-powers, the USA and the USSR, approached the Korean peninsula as a means of keeping and fostering power in the East-Asia region. Without going into the complex detailed history of the process of being divided, this provided a basic reason for the division into two Koreas, North and South, with two confronting ideologies, namely, Communism versus Democracy and Capitalism (Galtung, 1985). The conflict between North and South Korea therefore is an ideological conflict and because the influence of the USA system and its power is very strong in South Korea, US-inspired Democracy and Capitalism go together as the counterpart of North Korea and Communism. From this point, the term 'Left' and 'Right' were used in representing the Communist party and the Democratic Party respectively in Korea. These terms are still used in South Korean society by ordinary people as well as politicians.

The experience of the Korean War deepened the inner conflict among Koreans in both the North and the South and it became an entrenched *ideological conflict*. For instance, in South Korea, the ideology under the colonial regime shifted to pro-American values and anti-Communist perceptions (Lee, 2005). This was promulgated and to a degree enforced by schooling. Thanks to education, the collective animosity towards Russia, China and North Korea increased to the extent that people in South Korea believe that the leadership of North Korea is evil and its people should be liberated from Communism.

Moreover the need to have enough military security to resist attack by the Communists created a compulsory system of military service for all men above

the age of 18. It is still in force and all men, unless they are sick or disabled, or rich and powerful enough to escape, must serve in the army for approximately 2 years. Moreover, the first president of South Korea, *Lee Seungman*, enforced a National Security Law which is still current, aimed at fostering anti-Communism. This law was used politically by all dictators in the past and it still has power even under today's presidents who have been democratically elected.

Furthermore, as the USA embraced those who worked for the Japanese regime – the pro-Japanese elite as leaders of South Korea after Independence (Ham, 2003), the vestiges of Japanese colonialism were not eradicated – rather the reverse, leading to other conflicts in interpreting the experience of a former colony, divided by pro- and anti-Japanese perceptions[2]. Moreover, as the leaders of South Korea – its former dictators and some politically conservative members of the elite – hail from the pro-Japanese elite, their power in South Korea has continued (Chung, 2011; 2012; Kim, 2009; Park, 2011).

Dictators at the helm in South Korea subsequently ignored the people's human rights and used military force to keep power and to legitimise themselves. To begin with, *Park Junghee* is famous for having procured fast economic growth by setting a *5-year economic growth plan* and at the same time for violating the

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[2] Conflicts still rage within South Korean society over several historical issues, such as comfort women (the term is a euphemism for sexual slavery during the Second World War. Between 1932 and 1945), the number of whom ranged between 50,000 and 200,000. Korean comfort women are now asking the Japanese Government to apologize for what they did. The former comfort women gather every Wednesday in front of the Japanese Embassy waiting for an official apology and the historical relations between Korea and Japan in Japanese history textbooks are distorted. Nowadays, Dokdo Island (Dakesima in Japan) and the naming of the sea (the East Sea in Korea but the Sea of Japan in Japan) are the most critical issues.

human rights of many university students and intellectuals. His regime ended when he was shot dead in 1979, but two more military dictators were elected directly afterwards. *Chun Doohwan*, to illustrate, was responsible for killing citizens in the city of Kwangjoo in 1980 (Choi, 2007; Han, 2005; Yea, 2002). This was a military coup d'état and in English is called the *Kwangju uprising*. The dictatorship continued to trample over human rights, although it was glamorised for capturing spies and Communists from North Korea. But the authoritarian politics ensured rapid economic growth just as in today's China (Davis, 1998; Kim, 2012). In this situation, schools were not allowed to talk about the government or politics. Schools became the place for dreams of economic development, both for the family and the country, and the place for reinforcing the mind-set of anti-Communism. Therefore, economic growth and anti-Communism went together to legitimise the power and continued rule of the dictators. For some people this way of thinking has persisted.

Dictatorship formally ended in 1993 and democratic rule took its place, yet the political party elected at the time was still governing on much the same lines as before. The difference was the disappearance of direct military force, but the mandatory system of military service for all men did not change. Under President *Kim Youngsam*, South Korea was preoccupied with raising economic standards and its own material development and as a result South Korea joined the OECD in 1996. However, the distorted global and national economic policies, including financial speculation, excessive borrowing, corruption and unregulated elite-centred economic growth, brought about financial crisis in 1997. This gravely affected South Korea, which received help from the IMF (International

Monetary Fund). Hence, this period is called 'the age of the IMF' (Park, 2009).

Just after this financial crisis, when South Korea had recovered, a presidential election was held, voting into power *Kim Daejung,* who became famous for winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000. This heralded the first transformation of a political party since South Korea embraced democracy. Kim fought for democracy during the period of dictatorship and therefore some people regard him as *left-wing* and suspect him of giving money to the North Koreans to pursue his *Sunshine policy* and the so-called *6.15 joint declaration*[3]. At all events, the mood of peace began to prevail in this period, and official perceptions of North Korea changed into a perception that co-existence was possible. The universal claims of human rights became an important social question and South Korea, the first to do so in the East-Asia region, founded its National Human Rights Commission. In terms of socio-economics, however, the global move of neo-liberalism affected South Korean society. The progressive government continued throughout the election period, when *Roh Moohyun* was elected President. This government had a hard time to reconcile economic growth with the pursuit of peace, in particular in the realm of reunification.

Two progressive governments, however, could not mediate the peace and

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[3] 'President Kim Dae-Jung and Chairman Kim Jong-il produced the June 15 Joint Declaration which will serve as the basic document guiding peaceful co-existence and national unification on the Korean peninsula. No doubt, the summit meeting and the Jung 15 Joint Declaration are products partly of the Kim Dae-Jung government's Sunshine policy … The Sunshine policy has aimed at paving the way to peaceful co-existence and national unification through the dismantling of the Cold War structure that has dictated the geopolitical fate of the Korean peninsula since the end of the Second World War ... the summit meeting represents a decisive moment in the extrication of the Korean peninsula from the trap of the Cold War and the start of the process toward a new peace system' (Moon, 2000, p. 4).

security issue in the Korean peninsula without conflict and failed to build a true democratic and peaceful society. In addition, those in power, who in the past had been members of democratic movements, often lost the original vision of their political party. They were blamed for putting out policies based on neo-liberal values (Korea Teachers Union, cited in Kang, 2002; People's Solidarity, 2003). And, in terms of their attitude to peace and reunification in the Korean peninsula, they brought about the so-called *South-South conflict*[4]. Schools had to juggle the demands of globalised neo-liberal values with the public mood for peace-oriented values.

As the South-South conflict escalated and people experienced economic difficulties due to the impact of the IMF-conditions period and neoliberal ideology, South Korea returned to conservative rule by electing *Lee Myungbak* as president in the 2008 election. His government stressed economic growth with a strong emphasis on using pragmatism and neo-liberal values to restore the economy and the competitiveness of South Korea. This government criticized favourable attitudes to North Korea and highlighted military security as a way of ensuring peace between the two Koreas. Hence, a sense of national security was fostered and it became important to espouse anti-Communism. This government is famous for reworking the relationship between the Koreas, from a mood of peace to an

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[4] This ideologically-based conflict even occurs within the ROK, as the *South-South conflict*. For instance, the epithet *Commie* or *Red* is still used among people in ROK to describe those who talk about DPRK in a friendly manner (Choi, 2003). Moreover, it is understood that peace and coexistence is a motto of the Left, while peace and security is its equivalent for the Right. This represents the ideological approach towards peace. A solid propaganda war on both sides aggravates all of this (Galtung, 1989; Kang and Kwon, 2011)

adversarial relationship; the tension between them intensified and has not relaxed (Chae, 2010; Seoung, 2008).

Meanwhile, schooling faced diverse issues, such as school choice, standardization and global competition. For instance, high-school diversification led to the foundation of independent private high schools, which incurred blame as schools for the privileged, potentially widening the educational gap between themselves and others. At the same time, the government enforced a 'standardized scholastic aptitude exam' for elementary school students. Furthermore, schools were made use of to propagate the government's idea of Green Growth coupled with reunification and security. Contested issues of growth, security and the economy raised more violent conflicts in South Korea. An increased suicide rate proved the persistence of inner and outer conflicts which had not been resolved. This situation brought about the very idea of peace education as a solution to such conflicts, as will be explained at a later juncture.

Another president from the conservative party – the daughter of the dictator *Park Junghee* – was elected. In this thesis, conditions in this new phase of the country after the 2012 election are not examined because the time when the data were collected was 2011–2012.

Meanwhile, anti-Japanese sentiment remains and globalisation has made its impact on South Korean society. With its neo-liberal views, the government stressed global competitiveness and English proficiency, as a critical item in the intellectual capital of South Koreans, was held up as having intellectual currency and global potency (Hong, 2010). At the same time, South Korea turned itself into

a *multicultural society.* It had been understood in the past as a homogenous country in terms of language, ethnicity, race and culture, but as the global trend of labour immigration took over, South Korea welcomed its share of workers. The influx of cheap labour from China and the South or South-east Asian countries began in the 1980s, although a distinctive social awareness of foreign migrant labour arose only after early 2000. In addition to the effects of the ageing society, the problem of a surplus of unmarried men of low socio-economic-status occurred following the decline in the birth rate and the numerical imbalance between men and women. Claiming to resolve these social problems, matchmaking companies legally did business by opening the market for Korean males to *buy* their future wives (Hong, 2007).

Currently, foreigners in South Korea occupy 1.8% of the total population, but they increased by 23.3 % between early 2000 and 2007 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2008). As the numbers of foreigners rise, the issue of contravening their human rights has become a subject of public concern for the country. Not only have the human rights of workers become social issues but also the problems of female married immigrants, such as domestic violence, language problems, cultural differences and diverse forms of discrimination. Taking these relatively new social issues and problems seriously, many scholars and government workers urge South Korea to consider itself a *'multicultural society'.* Representing such a society, a new social category, that of the *multicultural family,* was created to group those who have either formed unions with migrant workers or are female immigrants. So the term 'multiculture' is understood to designate the culture of a new group of social minorities in South Korea (Park, 2008).

In the multicultural discourse, the issue of the arrival of refugees from North Korea is controversial. Although North Korean refugees have the same ethnic background as South Koreans, some maintain that their problems should be tackled through the heading of multiculture, given that their ideological background and thus their cultural background are so different (Cho, 2006; Hong, 2010). In my opinion, the issue of North Korean refugees should be addressed as one of the multicultural discourses because the differences they reveal should be respected, even though South and North Koreans have the same ethnicity.

In sum, South Korean society has gone through radical and enormously rapid changes. Throughout this experience, a culture of violence has been tolerated, if not promoted, in order to enhance the economic development of the country. This development has apparently been successful in its aim. But in the process of economic development, society has learned to accept conflicts uncritically rather than learning how to cope with them peacefully. The culture of violence in South Korean society, therefore, is 'reproduced' persistently, in Bourdieuean terms and now incorporates the new phenomena of globalisation and multiculturalism.

2.4 Violence in schools in South Korea

This section illuminates the background and the need for this research project, using peace education as an analytical and theoretical framework. Before discussing the present violence in schools in South Korea, it is worth considering

the status of education and the way in which it has influenced South Korean society. Therefore, the background of South Korean education will be outlined to enable readers to understand the ensuing violence in schools:

> *'South Korea's students consistently outperform their peers in almost every country in reading and math (Ripley, 2011; Weyant, 2011). Ranking by mean score on the 2009 Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) indicates that, in comparison to 64 other countries, South Korea is placed 2nd in reading, 4th in math and 6th in science ... In addition, the percentage of South Korean students reaching the highest levels of reading proficiency on the PISA more than doubled from 2000 to 2009 (OECD, 2010). According to the OECD (2010), 93 per cent of South Korean students graduate on time from high school... Experts now recognize, however, that the South Korean education system ignores student diversity and produces students who score well on tests but fall short on creativity and analytical thinking. They are also starting to wonder if high levels of achievement justify the intense emotional and physical stress experienced by many South Korean students' (Jae-yun, 2011; Rebora, 2011; Ripley, 2011) (Blazer, 2012, p. 1).*

South Korean education, as noted, is well-known for the excellence of students' performance in tests. To illustrate, President Obama of the USA has complimented the South Korean education system and commented on the way that education has helped to improve the country as well as individual lives (*The Korea Times*, 2012). Some South Koreans are proud that Obama singled out the South Korean education model for praise. There are benefits and positive sides to this model, but to me it seems that an instrumentalist, performance-oriented education, rooted in a history of rapid social change, is perpetuating the violent culture in schools even deeper in South Korea (perhaps) than elsewhere.

In all periods of history, schools have functioned to foster society's ideology and prevailing beliefs. 'The social conditions surrounding education made the educational system a very effective institution for political manipulation'

(Han, 1978) … '[What we call] formal schooling …has been controlled by political power: it is taken for granted from the viewpoint of the 'haves' that education is to be used for the purpose of national security and national development' (Kang, 2002, p. 318). To begin with, it is generally acknowledged that education in schools was used, historically, to colonize Korean minds and thinking. To this end, teachers acted like military leaders and a weekly assembly was held in every playground where the national anthem was sung and rows of children stood and listened to the words from the principal. Even nowadays assemblies are still held once a week, but many schools tend to use IT equipment, enabling students to sit in the classroom and absorb the principal's message from a monitor. Even then, however, they have to stand to sing the national anthem and school song. National flags (or the Japanese flag during colonial times) are hung at the front of each classroom. At the beginning of the semester, all students are allocated a number and teachers call them by their numbers instead of their names. This way of schooling did not change even after independence. As noted, only the ideas and ideologies shifted; the practices have survived as customary in our schooling.

Moreover, because the dictators made economic growth the very first task of the country, schooling was regarded as the main institution for carrying out the task. Going to school guaranteed social advancement to the upper class and it was represented as something good, modern and the path to a Westernized intellectual outlook. Luckily or not, under the rule of ex-president Park Jung-Hee, South Korea made remarkably rapid economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s. Education, in this process, had the function of giving individuals and hence the

nation, the chance to develop (Kim, 2012). Showing to everyone the fantastic possibilities of moving up the social ladder, it strengthened people's resolve against the temptation to cut short their children's education.

From experiences of this kind, higher education has turned into something that indicates social status and the development of human capital. Going to prestigious universities became a critical element in social capital which guaranteed better jobs and higher socio-economic status. People now blindly believe that higher education is one of the most important markers in their lives; hence, entering university became a key purpose of education and a social norm. The dramatic increase in the number of higher education institutions confirms these phenomena (KHEI, 2013). Currently, a student's performance in a national university entrance exam is the sole determinant of which university s/he can attend. Students' academic careers are dedicated entirely to earning high enough scores in the university entrance exam to gain acceptance by one of these top universities (Shin, 2011; Spira, 2011). This situation is described as typical of the *hakbul*[5] society in South Korea.

In the South Korean context, thus, economic growth and the educational contribution are two sides of the same coin. In this situation, people and policy makers had no chance to reflect on past history as they reinforced the role for

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[5] *Hakbul*(學閥) can be understood as one's educational background. Precisely, *hak* means learning/education and *bul* means social capital. As the two words become one, they imply the social prestige gained from schools, usually universities. *Hakbul* can be seen as a pathological phenomenon of Korean society, which divides students up not according to their all-round abilities and aspirations, but to their elite university credentials (www.antihakbul.org). Therefore, *hakbul* implies the grouping of people who graduate from the prestigious universities in South Korea and wield power based on elitism. The closest UK similarity is the so-called public-school and Oxbridge network.

education. Instead, education made its way towards capitalist values, focusing on economic growth and competition by adopting globalised neo-liberalism. It consistently reproduced such traditional customs as those mentioned earlier. In addition, since education developed under a colonial power and dictatorship, the education system is still nationalized, bureaucratic and hierarchical in spite of the neo-liberal approach brought in from the early 1990s onwards. For example, it is the government that develops the school curriculum. As a result, the range and content of the subjects taught, the time allocated to each, the criteria of evaluation and the development of textbooks are decided by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Framework, 2011).

These situations cause diverse forms of conflict in and out of schools, as will be evidenced in Chapter 4. Violence appears where there is a conflict among people or within a system where different groups vie for their interests. Violence also emerges when the conflicts are systemized and routinized among people. The further argument that South Korean schools can be considered places for promoting conflict and perpetuating violence would be insisted (as will be borne out in Chapter 4). That is, the environment for the school, which can be traced back to the very start of the present educational system, colonization and the divided status of the two Koreas, has created a number of problems which all generate violence Some of those problems will be described in the following subsections. The violence which originates from these problems does harm to and oppresses students and teachers in schools in both physical and systemic forms.

2.4.1 Private education and tutoring

The unique experience of schooling in South Korea, coupled with its neo-liberal values, continues to generate conflict, which has spread throughout society. The most influential issue is private education. According to Statistics Korea (2011), 71.7 percent of students at all levels of schooling are involved in private education. The expenditure on private education per student in 2011 was on average 240,000 won (140 GBP approximately) per month. As these statistics illustrate, parents, who believe they have achieved success in the past in terms of moving up the social ladder, want their children to give attention to studying in order to pursue 'the good life'; parents therefore invest a great proportion of their own wealth in tuition outside school for their children This is called *educational fever* (Hyun, et al., 2003; Joo, 2000; Lee, 2005; Seth, 2002). Various reasons have been put forward for this peculiar situation. Some argue that private education exists because it is accompanied by a 'tight linkage' between academic performance and later opportunities in higher education and the labour market (Baker and Letender, 2005; Silova and Bray, 2006). Therefore, it is natural for parents to *choose* private education in order to give their children more chances of success in the highly competitive university entrance examinations. In this regard, parental dissatisfaction with the way that public schooling treats their need (to get better scores than others do in high-stake examinations) is likely to affect the growth of private education. Others, however, showing the close relationship between parents' socio-economic status and private education ('cram schools'), blame the latter for exacerbating educational inequality and social

stratification or divisions in society – intensifying structural violence (Dawson, 2010; Kim and Park, 2010; Oh, 2011).

The types of conflict raised by private education are very important in understanding the educational context of South Korea. This is because private education seems in some respects a more important factor than school education – students feel anxious unless they have private education; students also feel bored in school because they have already learned the same thing from a private teacher, so they are likely to fall asleep in class; teachers feel helpless when they face sleeping students. Realistically, the problem of private education cannot be resolved unless this *hakbul* society profoundly changes. Nevertheless, the government tries to overcome this problem in order to treat the problem of social inequality by enforcing bans on private education. However, the Constitutional Court ruled in 2000 that the banning of private education or tutoring is unconstitutional. This led the governmental policy to focus on containing the demand for private education within the school system by strengthening the quality of public education and after-school supplementary programmes (Kim and Park, 2010). The purpose of the after-school programmes is to give opportunities to students whose families cannot provide private education. In 2008, President Lee Myungbak enforced direct regulation of the cram schools' opening hours – they must close at 10 pm at the latest. This has been controversial because of the Constitutional decision made in 2000 (*Korea Herald*, 2012; *Yonhap News*, 2009 cited in Kim and Park, 2010).

Nowadays, through a contradictory government policy, private education is still in demand due to high school diversification based on such neo-liberal

ideas as school choice, standardization and competition (Oh, 2011). What is more, the real-estate business is also influenced by the private education market (Kim and Lee, 2007; Kim and Park, 2012; Park and Lee, 2011).

Some maintain that private education is a matter of individual choice, a way to attain one's ambitions. But private education is not as simple as the individual's choice because it has now become *institutionalized* and is *symbolic* as a mark of prestige in South Korean society (Lee, 2007; Lee and Shous, 2011). However, education as a whole under the present neoliberal policies and strategies is becoming marketized and privatized in the interests of competitiveness; it adds to the educational options, is less bureaucratic as a system and so on (KMOE, 2008; 2009; Oh, 2011). The purpose of private education, it seems, is to secure entry to a prestigious university. Even though many research studies show different reasons among different income brackets for spending money on private education (Lee and Shouse, 2011; Yang and Kim, 2003), it is also interesting to learn that more than half the population follows this trend. Private education has now become a form of *social capital* with which to pursue higher status or maintain the present one by managing to enter a top university. Overall, a debilitating form of private education is to be seen in South Korea; it perpetuates social inequality and widens the educational gap, re-creating a culture of competition and *hakbul*.

2.4.2 Human rights issues

Ironically, the issue of human rights is causing conflicts in schools. Very recently, the Students' Human Rights Ordinance (see Appendices) was issued; it was to be applied first in Gyunggi-province in 2010 and then extended to several other provinces. Seoul, the capital city of South Korea, announced the Ordinance in 2012. This ordinance was needed because the rights of students in the past had been severely curtailed. For instance, corporal punishment was used by teachers and students were not allowed to choose their own hair style and so on. Sometimes teachers held inspections of students' personal belongings. Apart from school conditions, students were – and still are – almost trapped by competitive examinations (for university entrance, above all). Students have to attend cram schools or private tutoring after school, as already explained. Most high school students, after spending 7-8 hours a day at school, spend their time in further study in the private sector until almost midnight, sometimes even until 2 am (Li, 2011 cited in Blazer, 2012). In 2006, the National Youth Commission published a booklet to show how students' human rights are violated, citing the daily timetable of a high school student as an example:

Table 1. The daily timetable of a typical high school student: ″I Can Do It!!!!″

	Morning	School hour (until 4:30 pm)	Evening	Night

Mon	Get up at 5 Watch EBS[6] from 6 to 6:45 Go to school at 7	Must memorize 50 English words. 10 questions of Math (Drink coffee if I feel sleepy)	5pm – 8:30 Hakwon (Cram school) (Dinner: street food with friends)	9:30 – 10:30 Homework 11 – 12 Study EBS
Tue	Get up at 5 Watch EBS at 6 Go to school at 7			
Wed	...	...	...	...
Thu				

From this evidence, one can argue that students in South Korea have no right to rest and enjoy leisure time. Because South Korea went down such a fast economic track, students at all levels have been forced to compete against each other, putting all children under severe pressure (Bae cited in Kang, 2002).

In these circumstances, the basic rights of students have been denied and children are understood as immature beings who need the care and control of adults. Being a good student commonly means being someone who follows the school rules (neatly dressed in uniform, with tidy bobbed hair, not smoking, etc.), studying as instructed and producing excellent exam results, obeying teachers, being polite to them and so on. If students raise their voices or express their own views, then usually adults see them as arrogant or impolite. The Students' Human Rights Ordinance asked people to change the conventional thoughts, beliefs, norms and culture which had created this ideal of a good student. Moreover, the

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[6] Education Broadcasting System: Every morning and night, educational programmes are broadcast for the national standardized examinations. Nowadays, these are becoming popular and the government is trying to promote them in schools to limit the extreme problems of private academies and tutoring.

ordinance required an end to corporal punishment and to regulations on students'

hair styles and uniforms, etc.

This may have been too progressive for the school culture to adopt all at

once. In addition, because this ordinance was imposed more or less from the top,

most teachers and administrators in schools saw it as one more rule for them to

obey. Interestingly, some saw the enactment of the Students' Human Rights

Ordinance as the abolition of teachers' authority in schools. Opponents of this

ordinance urge that restoring students' human rights in schools would cause more

school violence and indeed bring schools to the point of chaos (The Korean

Federation of Teachers' Associations, 2010). And some teachers, whether or not

they use corporal punishment, have been concerned that it would be far harder to

manage or to control students if corporal punishment were banned in classrooms.

Hence, some teachers who were to enact the ordinance set up a movement for the

rights or authority of teachers, but this failed (*Newsis*, 2012; Kim, 2012).

Students are undeniably in a weaker position than teachers and their basic

human rights, which our school culture ignores, should be protected at all costs.

Still, teachers' authority in schools does need to be protected as well, but not as

the counterpart of students' human rights. Looking at it from a legal perspective, it

is the teachers' authority that is officially protected (Oh, 2010). For example,

teachers' authority in any administrative process should be protected from an

unfair school management; teachers should be respected by school governors and

parents, as experts both in their subject and pedagogically.

In effect, according to the research by the National Human Rights

Commission of the Republic of Korea, cited in Song (2011), teachers felt their rights or authority were violated because of a clash not with students but with school personnel, colleagues and parents. Teachers are also more stressed because of too much administrative work, as well as preparing their lessons and the proportion of teachers on temporary contracts increases every day (Park, 2012). Some have experienced insults from senior teachers or leaders of schools (Yoon, 2013). To add to this, teachers, notably members of the Korea Teachers Union, have been dismissed because they opposed government policies, even since 2008[7]. Currently, some students are hitting out at teachers and insulting them verbally in class, but this is rare (*Healthmedi*, 2011).

To sum up, the rights of both students and teachers are violated in schools and political influence has caused distortion and conflict in the treatment of basic human rights in schools (Joh, 2012; Kang, 2007). Even though human rights are basic to everybody, in South Korea they are seen as the shibboleths of conflicting groups within schools and in society. One's attitude to human rights in school has hence become a matter of *ideology*, both politically and culturally, with implications that often appear paradoxical to outsiders.

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[7] Opposing the national standard assessment examination for primary pupils, some teachers took their pupils on field trips instead of letting them take the examination. These teachers were dismissed (Korea Teachers Union, 2009; Choi, 2012).

2.4.3 Overt school violence

School violence, in its overt forms, is becoming more and more intense. Overt school violence, by definition, takes the form of physical and verbal assaults, bullying, stealing and sexual violence among students, both inside and outside school (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2011). School violence is not an entirely new social phenomenon but the public realizes its seriousness from time to time, when critical events occur. Recently, in the South Korean context, many students have committed suicide due to school violence (Kim et al., 2010; Park, 2010). Researchers have also found that school violence has been taken over by gangs; it has become brutalized, feminized and committed by ever-younger children such as primary students (Kim and Lee, 2002; Kwon, 2005; *Newisis*, 2013). Their violence is brutal; for example, they beat up their victims in gangs, they burn victims with cigarettes, sometimes seriously, or groups of senior students show sexual violence towards younger female students (Moon et al., 2012). Additionally, new forms of violence in schools, called the *Bbang Shuttle*,[8] have become more or less routine for students.

To resolve such problems, the government passed the *Act on the Prevention and Countermeasures against Violence in Schools* in 2004 and has revised it twice. President Lee made a public speech on the seriousness of school

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[8] *Bbang* means bread in Korean. *Bbang shuttle* is a new Korean language used by school teenagers. It refers to an action or a person who does it – buying bread or cigarette or other things for peers who have power over others in the classroom (Naver Korean Dictionary). This is exacted by force and it encourages others to steal money or mobile data for Internet use in schools.

violence, after the death of a middle school student in Daegoo city. However, this law has been criticized because the level of school violence has not gone down and because it seems to focus on the containment of the phenomenon itself rather than dissecting its nature and causes (Yoo, 2012).

In addition, many research studies report other causes of school violence such as family factors, gender differences, academic achievement, parents' socio-economic status, stress, peer relations, influence of the Internet and so on, and suggest various ways of solving this problem (Kim, 2005; Kim, 2007; Kim, 2008; Kim et al., 2008c). Generally, if a student comes from a poor home and has experienced more violence at home and from teachers in school, he or she is likely to be violent towards a weaker student in class (Kim, 2008; Kim et al., 2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2010; Do et al., 2009). Furthermore, being a victim of school violence is closely related to being a perpetrator; people generally adopt both roles (Lee et al., 2004; Lee et al., 2008), with victims changing to attackers. This vicious circle continues until they reach high school. Not only does violence affect students these days but it is also used against teachers, contributing to the totality of school violence. Recently, a video caused much social concern – it showed a young female teacher experiencing students' violence verbally and at times physically (Kim, 2012).

People see this state of affairs as *the critical situation of education*. It is impossible to find a single cause for all aspects of the phenomenon and diverse research studies have shown that all its causes are interrelated. The meaning of *critical situation* also differs, depending on one's perspective on schooling, but what is commonly understood is that students, parents and teachers are all finding

it difficult to reconcile the different elements of the situation. Applying conflict resolution, building a peace-loving sensibility and peer mediation have been suggested as approaches to solve the problem of school violence. The Gyeonggido Office of Education and Seoul Office of Education emphasize *peace education* as an educational approach in this matter.

Notice that this section has focused on overt forms of violence in South Korean schools, a phenomenon that is causing a stir among the public. More structural and covert forms of school violence, however, are very rarely discussed in public in South Korea, as noted above.

2.4.4 Multicultural society and multicultural education

The phenomenon of multiculturalism causes new forms of conflict in school settings. As the number of pupils from *multicultural families* increases, the demands on multicultural education increase and ways of meeting them must keep pace (MEST, 2012). South Korea's history as a homogeneous country has meant that its teachers and school administrators have no experience of working with culturally and ethnically different pupils and parents. So, it may be said that schools find it awkward to embrace them. To make matters worse, schooling in South Korea has played an important role in maintaining and transmitting a belief in the promotion of national unity (Cheong and Tam, 2007; Hanson 2008; Kim, 2004; Sorenson, 1994 cited in Hong 2010). Korean educators have contributed not only to the national economy by providing high quality human resources but also

to national cohesion by inculcating national pride, loyalty and patriotism. However, as society turns into a multicultural version of itself, the emphasis on 'being Korean' and 'Korean citizenship' is no longer reasonable.

Furthermore, the gloomy forecasts about multicultural families and children highlight more intensely the prejudice against those groups. Some research studies show the poor school performance and adaptation of pupils from multicultural families, compared to those from South Korean families. They attribute this poor performance to the background of the children's mothers – the lack of ability to learn Korean among females who have immigrated to South Korea for the sake of marriage (An and Yi, 2009). It turns out that teachers have forecast that students from multicultural families would probably perform badly in their studies and have difficulty in forming peer relations (Kwon, 2009). As it happens, such pupils do find it hard to adjust to various aspects of school (Bae, 2006; Kim, 2005; Kim, 2006; Lee and Kim, 2009).

In this situation, multicultural education has been commanded in order to *solve* this new problem. In South Korea, multicultural education is understood as a set of learning activities, intended in particular for the second generation of immigrants. The set includes learning the language and cultural assumptions, bilingual education, adjustment education for returnees, education for international understanding and cultural relativism (Yang, 2008). Multicultural education in South Korea is, however, often criticized for supporting assimilative rather than integrative multiculturalism. That is, multicultural education in South Korea is aimed at retaining the status quo of the educational provision, rather than promoting the idea of social justice, peace and synergic integration. In such

circumstances, whatever the approach of multicultural education, it becomes simply another job that teachers must prepare for. Given that the relationship between the teachers and the students from multicultural families is crucial (Jung and Yoon, 2011; Kim and Tak, 2011), what is needed is multicultural education for teachers also; academic papers have recommended incorporating it into teachers' training courses and developing the school curriculum so that it can be taught (Jang, 2009; Park and Kang, 2009).

As mentioned, pupils from multicultural families suffer discrimination and prejudice while teachers and administrators struggle to teach in the new ways required and to prepare for the new educational approach. This new phenomenon infused into the existing school culture creates conflict – direct and indirect – for everyone in the school.

2.5 Peace education as a means to transform the culture of violence in school and society

Peace education is essentially aimed at changing the current direction of a society, which perpetuates a culture of violence, towards a more peaceful society. In order to achieve this aim, the practices of peace education take diverse forms in different contexts. Beneath these diverse forms, according to different situations, there is a universally shared idea that, 'since war begins in the minds of men, it is the minds of men that the defense of peace must be constructed' (UNESCO, 1945). In this regard, peace education stresses the role and the responsibilities of

education for individuals, based on the idea that micro social relations are a reflection of the macro, and macro relations in turn are the product of the micro level (Haavelsrud, 1996). The idea behind peace education is of educating individuals to change themselves vis-à-vis peace values and norms – creating a culture of peace in schools which will ultimately lead to the transformation of a society as a whole.

Together with the analysis of both direct and indirect violence in the theoretical frame of Bourdieu's symbolic violence, peace education is used in this thesis to propose a way of understanding the culture of violence deeply embedded in South Korean society and to suggest how a culture of violence can be altered through educational practice and can lead a society closer to the creation of a culture of peace. This section, hence, aims to explain in some detail the second part of my theoretical framework, namely peace education, its perspective on the role of schooling and its link to society. Accordingly, this section is organized into five sub-sections: *the idea and history of peace education; peace education in the broader context of values education; the elusiveness of peace education; local and global characteristics of peace education; and, last, the educational aims and pedagogical aspects of peace education.*

2.5.1 The idea and history of peace education

Peace education was introduced into educational discourse following the end of the Second World War in 1945. As people experienced the disastrous and

inhumane destruction of the war, an international call for peace was issued. Various ways of reaching peace were suggested, but, education above all received attention. For instance, based on an international consensus represented in the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations (1945), the Constitution of UNESCO (1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949), education is mentioned as a significant means of bringing a change to the direction of peace. More precisely, the Hague Appeal for Peace (1999) and Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (UN, 1999) set up peace education or education for peace as action to build a peaceful society. In so doing, peace educators have argued that in order to achieve peace, the abolition of militarism and war, male violence should be challenged first (Broke-Utne, 1985). In addition, Reardon (1988) maintained that the core values of schooling should be care, concern and commitment, and the key concepts of peace education should be planetary stewardship, global citizenship and human relationships.

From the end of the 20th century, peace educators communicated a vision of the alternatives to violence, including a view of its origins (Harris, 2002) – from the national (e.g. defence and the effects of militarism), cultural (e.g. sexism, teaching about social norms such as ethnic hatred, religious intolerance, etc.) and interpersonal levels (e.g. teaching nonviolence skills) to the physical levels (e.g. helping students understand what patterns exist in their own minds that contribute to violence) (Salomon and Nievo, 2002). All of these aim to foster changes that will make society more humane and peaceful.

Peace education, thus, is defined as *a transformative educational approach* which encourages movement from violence towards a culture of peace.

Therefore, the main goal of peace education is social re-direction or a change of movement towards a society with a culture of peace. However, peace education faces diverse problems, such as militarization, gender problems, economic inequality, racism, environmental problems, social exclusion and similar evils. Hence, according to Haavelsrud (1996), peace education, by its nature, conflicts with the major, if tacit, role given to education in current capitalist societies, which is – according to Bourdieu's depiction – to reinforce a society's existing social inequalities and injustice. In order to critically examine the present education system and promote peaceful culture through education, the first task is to learn about peace and violence. On this account, Galtung (2008, p. 1) states that the obvious themes for peace education are historical – for example, 'understanding how slavery was abolished, how socialist policies improved material conditions of the masses, how anti-colonization movements came into being and ultimately were somewhat successful, how emancipist and feminist movements improved the lot of women and how mobilization against structural violence in general is possible'. Historical aspects of peace research and education show the possibility of knowing the root causes of diverse aspects of violence that currently occur. Furthermore, it provides ideas about how to approach or solve the problems of violence and where to begin changes. Peace education, as a notable means to transform the culture of violence to the culture of peace, therefore needs to begin by exploring the histories and fundamental causes of violence.

As mentioned in earlier sections, violence has several definitions. Likewise, there are diverse ways of seeing 'peace'. For instance, Groff and Smoker (1996) point to the absence of war and equal international relationships as

basic conditions of peace. Galtung (1996), for his part, highlights *structural violence* such as the violation of human rights and discrimination and the economic gap that prevents a peaceful society from being built. The concept of structural violence captures an important element of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, although Bourdieu's concept is even wider; it penetrates deeper to the regions of the prevailing *habitus* and mind-set.

Hicks (1998) has designed a diagram, named *defining Peace,* to show the interrelations of violence and peace.

Figure 1. defining peace
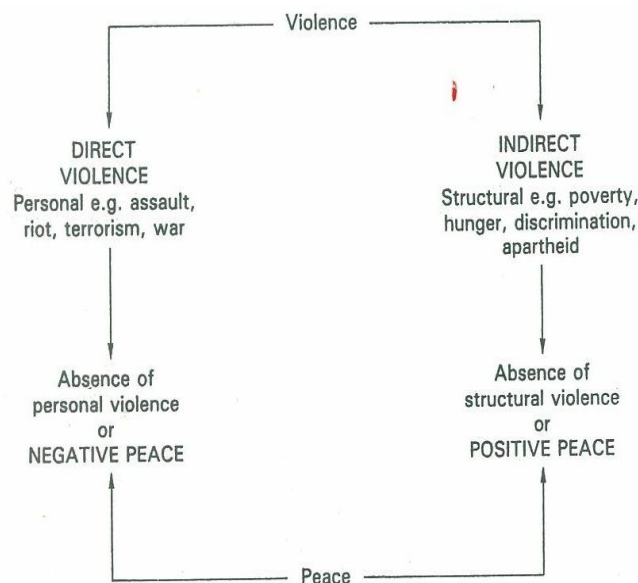
Source: Hicks, David (Ed) (1998) **Education for Peace: Issues, Principles and Practices in the classroom**. London: Routledge. p. 6

As shown, Hicks defines the relation of peace and violence as a cycle in which one affects the other. He sees violence in two ways – direct, such as personal assault, riot, terrorism and war; and indirect (structural), such as poverty,

hunger, discrimination and apartheid. He equates the absence of structural violence to positive peace, whereas he considers the absence of direct violence to be negative peace. However, these four categories are not separated but influence one another in rotation. At first, after WW2, peace was more or less focused on negative peace, the absence of direct violence, but since the 1960s, peace has been seen as relating more to positive peace, the absence of structural violence. As explained above, I would suggest widening the concept of positive peace to the absence of *all* symbolic violence, in Bourdieu's sense.

This diagram provides a holistic lens which can be applied in any context, through which to look at peace and violence as opposed 'cultures' in a society. Precisely speaking, the circularity of peace and violence shows that exploring the culture of violence could lead to a possible transformation to a culture of peace. By using this framework as an analytical tool, this thesis, focusing on the role of education, attempts to explore how macro and micro kinds of violence are formed and interact with each other. Furthermore, this framework suggests a way of finding what possibilities there are of employing peace education to alter a culture of 'peacelessness' to a culture of peace.

Given that peace is located in the circle of peace–violence, it is important to understand that peace is nonetheless a state in which conflicts can occur frequently but are resolved constructively. Hence, in order to understand peace, it is necessary to know what war and conflict are in our living society (Johnson & Johnson, 2003). That is to say, peace education evolves from looking at the causes of conflict and war to manifest and educate by counteracting the war system and replacing it with a peace system (Ardizzon, 2003). As Hicks (2004) argues, peace

education, which starts by studying violence, needs to convince individual students that there is a more hopeful and positive future. By learning about the origins and causes of violence in the past and proposing solutions for their amelioration in the immediate or longer-term future, children, young people and adults participate in the learning process of peace education. In this sense, peace education can be defined as teaching what peace is, how it may be established and maintained and the factors influencing its demise (Johnson and Johnson, 2003). This discussion gives the reason why peace education should be used as an analytical framework in which to consider violence in schools.

Moreover, the particular way that this thesis interprets and uses peace education is to educate the individual to know and think about what makes our society more peaceful by learning about symbolic violence, peace and their interrelations. That is, peace education is about teaching individuals to learn and adapt values that encourage symbolic peace cultures and to learn the skills to think and behave according to such values. In this regard, peace education would be seen in the broader context of values education, which is discussed in the next section.

2.5.2 Peace education in the broader context of values education

Values education is an umbrella concept covering diverse kinds of systematic cultivation of values and virtues: moral, social, aesthetic, performative, intellectual, etc.. In this section, I am exclusively exploring the sort of values education that is concerned with the cultivation of socio-moral norms: *moral*

education, for short. If we roughly divide moral education into two categories, one focuses on socialisation and/or moral competence based on social justice, equality and democratic citizenship and so on – it is often called *civic education* and/or *citizenship education*. The other strand is called *character education* and it emphasizes the cultivation of individual virtues in order to become a good person in society. To be sure, most civic educationists acknowledge the value of individual virtues of character, and character educationists acknowledge socio-moral well-being as the ultimate goal of character education. However, what divides them is the different emphasis on where to *start* moral education: is it by learning about and trying to improve social structures, or by cultivating individual virtues of good character?

Civic education aims at identifying what 'is morally justified in social structures, curriculum content, pedagogy and approved human interaction. It provides an educational climate in which it is both desirable and possible to be good' (Watson, 2008, p. 175). The basic idea of civic education is that building *a moral self* becomes plausible only when one is enmeshed in a strong community such as family, church and school. Accordingly, Lapsley (2008, p. 38) says that 'members of a community – a classroom and school – commit to a common life that is regulated by norms that reflect moral ideals. These shared norms emerge as a product of democratic deliberation in community meetings. Here the benefits and burdens of shared lived experience are sorted out in a way that encourages group solidarity and identification. But group identification is not simply awareness that one is a member of a group, but rather that one is responsible for the group. The responsible self is a communal self that takes on obligations and

duties as a result of shared commitment to group norms'. This being so, civic education is intended to inculcate children with moral values to create their identity as moral citizens; in other words, to develop their social *habitus* to engage in developing a moral society (Blasi, cited in Lapsely, 2008).

To illustrate, Covell and Howe (2001) suggest moral education through learning about human rights. They prepared a class with a curriculum which was designed to teach teenage students (aged 13–15) about their rights and responsibilities under *the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Their curriculum involved information topics such as basic needs, equality, alcohol and drug abuse, the environment and health, juvenile justice, sexuality and education. The activities such as role-playing, discussion of case studies, story-writing, community projects and cartooning were based on the idea of a student-centred approach. The assessment of their curriculum showed that, in comparison with their peers who did not receive a human-rights curriculum, the students on this course demonstrated a higher level of self-esteem, perceived peer-and-teacher support and increased their rights-respecting attitudes.

The second strand of moral education, character education, is an attempt to prepare individuals to make proper ethical judgements and to act on them (Arthur, 2003; Howard et al., 2004; Kristjánsson, 2013). Basically, character education focuses on personal character, which consists of values in action. Raising children with good characters consists of their knowing the good, desiring the good and doing the good (Lickona, 1989, cited in Howard et al., 2004). Insofar as one intends to raise children with good characters, character education is required to deal also with the relationship between and among individuals and among groups

and it should lead students to critically think about which values are good and which bad. Accordingly, Davis (2003, p. 33) argues that 'character can be analysed into a set of "traits" – that is, so many narrower dispositions or virtues – courage, temperance, honesty, perseverance, responsibility, caring and so on. But character is not simply the sum of such traits. The traits must be organized in a certain way. So, for example, while everyone would count courage as a trait of good character, courage in an evil person does not seem to be a good trait. An evil person with courage is morally worse than he would be without it … (e.g. the terrorists who destroyed the World Trade Center)'.

Schools, as a venue where character education can be conducted, adopt the values of being a good person and accordingly teach such values in suitably designed programmes. In this regard 'character education holds, as a starting philosophical principle, that there are widely shared, pivotally important core ethical values –such as caring, honesty, fairness, responsibility and respect for self and others – that form the basis of good character. A school committed to character education explicitly names and publicly stands for these values; promulgates them to all members of the school community; defines them in terms of behaviours that can be observed in the life of the school; models these values; studies and discusses them; uses them as the basis for human relations in the school; celebrates their manifestations in the school community; and upholds them by making all school members accountable to standards of conduct consistent with the core values' (Lickona et al., 1997, p. 29, cited in Davis, 2003).

As an example of a character education programme, consider the *Child Development Project (CDP)* in the USA. CDP is a comprehensive programme

aimed at fostering children's ethical, social and intellectual development (Sharps et al., 1996). Schools play a key role in this project by building the required trusting relationships and emphasizing the values of kindness, fairness and personal responsibility through curriculum, discipline, motivational practice and school culture. In order to show that character education makes good schools, Benninga et al. (2006) examined the relationship between character education and academic achievement for fourth year high school students in California, USA. Through their evaluation, a positive relationship was shown between the two, indicating four conditions of good schools. They should: (1) ensure a clean and secure physical environment; (2) promote and model fairness, equity, caring and respect; (3) have students contribute in meaningful ways; and (4) promote a caring community and positive social relationships.

So far, I have distinguished specifications of civic and character education as strands of moral education, which is in turn a sub-branch of values education. However, I consider all of these explanations and arguments interrelated and seeking the good of society. Where to start – with the social or the personal – is more of a chicken-and-egg question, and arguments that character education is necessarily individualist and conservative, as compared with civic education, are based on a misguided and too narrow conception of character education (Arthur, 2003; Kristjánsson, 2013). There are plausible arguments that *both* strands are central to moral development and the combination of both becomes even more important as society becomes more diverse, multicultural and violent (Howard et al., 2004). In addition, both strands take seriously John Dewey's philosophy of '*educating man*' in order to build a true democratic society and thus see the school

as one of the critical institutions and/or communities to conduct civic and character education. Last, both strands aim to build a more humane and justice-based society. The starting points may seem different, but the common theme of these two strands of moral education is that they seek to elucidate the good and aim to build individuals' capacities to learn values and behave and act as they dictate. This discussion leads us to think how peace education can be understood in the context of moral education.

From my own perspective, peace education combines well the two strands of moral education, although it has historically focused more on universal values which could be expected to be adopted internationally. This has mostly to do with the cosmopolitan assumptions of peace education and its inception in the wake of WW2, however; for even though peace education stresses that peace must be understood locally, and changing as the context changes, the profound peace-promoting values are assumed to be holistic and universal. For example, values such as social justice, solidarity, cooperation and respect for others, responsibility and so on should be taught and learned so as to promote peaceful culture in every society, although the means and methods of this education will depend on the context. This is why peace education can be discussed in the wider context of moral education, be it of the civic or character-based kind.

Peace education stresses the need to educate people to affirm life and rethink conflict, progress and peacemaking and/or peacebuilding. One of the prominent peace education thinkers, Hans Ulrich Wintsch, points out that social conflict is unavoidable and suggests that peace is not merely the absence of conflict but is about learning to live with conflict in a constructive manner (Gur-

Ze'ev, 2001). This discussion links to the idea that peace education can be offered not only in schools but also in other institutions. Rather than uncritically accepting the values and norms given in society as it is, one would do better to learn to think about the values and norms that would lead us to cope with the conflicts and to construct a more just, peace-based society.

To put it simply, Davis (2003) proposes that individuals should be helped to develop their potential to build more constructive and peaceful lives. Hence, the moral ideal of peace should be taught and learned through education, i.e. peace education, in this case. To illustrate, Gur-Ze'ev (2001) urges the need for human rights as a central value for the creation of peace in societies, in particular where they become more and more diverse − in multicultural areas. It connects to the idea of learning human rights through moral education, discussed above.

Representatively, UNESCO (1998) has published a source book for the Asia-Pacific region − *Learning to live together with peace and harmony*. This book aims to promote international education and values education for peace, human rights, democracy and sustainable development. This being so, UNESCO sets its vision as follows:

'It brings together the experience and reflections of experts from UNESCO Member States of Asia and the Pacific region who believes that their region is well endowed with shared cultural and human values. When identified, these values can serve as a vehicle for solidarity and peace, as well as an instrument for democracy and sustainable development. The vision these people share for the future of this region encompasses:

- *Elimination of all forms of discrimination;*
- *The protection of human rights and democracy;*
- *Equitable, balanced, humane and sustainable development*

- *Protection of the environment; and*

- *The integration of contemporary and traditional humanistic values'* *(UNESCO, 1998, pp. 4-5).*

The basic mission of this sourcebook is development and development for peace. In addition, it sees individuals as essentially moral agents; therefore, promoting individuals' peace-related skills and values also strengthens pro-social values. This links to the ideas of both civic and character education which are intended to inculcate peace-values, virtues and skills to individual children to enhance their peace-loving characters in order to develop a morally peaceful society. To practise this idea, the sourcebook provides a curriculum and teaching materials, as well as teacher training, designed to strengthen such values and abilities as solidarity, creativity, civic responsibility, conflict resolution by non-violent means and critical acumen. Above all, peace education also connotes the idea of *global citizenship* and international peace.

As such, peace education can be understood and practised along with the educational philosophy and practices of moral education, either of the civic or character-based kind. Unfortunately, some of the educational discourse on peace education has been conducted in isolation from the more overarching aims of moral education, as if 'peace education' were an independent unit with a unique rationale of its own. In this section, I have placed peace education within a more general moral framework. In the following section, peace education will be discussed in more detail by applying some of the general ideas explained in this section.

2.5.3 The elusiveness of peace education

The nature of peace education is elusive and it serves as an umbrella concept covering diverse forms of educational philosophy and practice, programmes on resolving conflicts and violence in both direct and indirect forms (Bar-Tal, 2002). Therefore, peace education in society presents the following features:

> *'1) an emphasis on values like justice, cooperation, solidarity, development of personal autonomy and decision-making, rejection of values that go against a culture of peace like discrimination, intolerance, ethnocentrism, blind obedience, indifference and conformism; 2) a focus on peace action; 3) behaviour and awareness understood within micro and macro contexts; 4) peace education aiming at recovering the idea of positive peace for all citizens and in all the areas of human interaction' (Arakistain, 2003, p. 297).*

Synott (2005) contends that these principles can be applied in areas such as conflict resolution, the conservation and restoration of the environment, the application of human rights, gender equality, socio-economic justice, disarmament, cultural diversity and others. Accordingly, peace educators framed the key themes of peace education as follows: *disarmament, human rights, environmental security, social justice, gender equality, international relations, multicultural or intercultural understanding and interfaith and inner peace* (Harris, 2003; Reardon, 1988; Salomon, 2002; Toh, 2004). Consequently, peace education embraces a wide range of educational philosophies, programmes and initiatives: disarmament education, human rights education, environmental education or education for sustainable development, development education, international education and conflict resolution education (Jones, 2006).

The elusive character of peace education stems from the global

experience of wars. As introduced above, from the early 21st century, peace educators began to look at peace education not from a national level but a cultural, interpersonal and psychological level. Based on diverse international resolutions on peace education, as noted above, peace education aims to create a culture of peace in each and every society by exploring its distinctive levels of violence and peace (Page, 2004). In recent years, therefore, we have seen peace education take on more localized and context-sensitive forms.

A culture of peace, here, by definition, is 'an integral approach to preventing violence and violent conflicts and an alternative to the culture of war and violence based on education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between women and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament' (Adams, 2005). Peace education therefore is based on an international consensus to alter existing war-based or violent cultures and systems of societies and has a dynamic relationship with more general peace practices (Harris, 2004).

In addition, peace education can be referred to as a reflection of the political-societal-economic agenda – the macro aspects in a given society. Bal-Tal (2002) illustrates that peace education, understood in this way, leads pupils and teachers to take part in campaigns for change and emphasizes the acquisition of peaceful behavioural patterns. Thus, peace education can be seen as a type of socialisation process because its objectivities are concerned with the internalization of specific worldviews, as defined by the society in question. Overall, peace education entails a call for action as well as promoting a certain

ideal about the value of education. Because of its elusiveness and uncertainties about where exactly to place it in the curriculum, some people argue that peace education is something that is only 'spiritual' and concerned with subtly changing mind-sets. But from a critical point of view, peace education is both political and sociological in dealing with and challenging existing social structures.

Peace education is often criticized for not being academic enough or not being a true research-based discipline. To a certain extent, it is helpful to understand peace education as a general process which foregrounds certain virtues or moral values. However, if we think the other way round, the alleged elusiveness of peace education opens up in the education field diverse approaches which are practical as well as theoretical. That is to say, peace education provides a new interdisciplinary approach in education that requires one to take note of philosophy, sociology, psychology, moral education and experimental research studies.

2.5.4 Local and global characteristics of peace education

The value, philosophy and practice of peace education are universal even though peace education takes different shapes in different contexts. While their objectives may be similar, different societies set up different forms of peace education which are dependent on the overall nature of the issues, conditions and cultures, as well as the views and creativity of the educators (Bar-Tal, 2002, pp. 34-35). This being so, peace education in South Korea is typically referred to as 'reunification

education' (Synott, 2002); the point will be further discussed later in this section. Localized as well as universal, the range of peace education research studies is diverse. I have explored peace education studies accordingly and worked out their distinctive characteristics – they can be put in place in societies perhaps in intractable conflict or relatively peaceful, in which the conflicts may be more structural or hidden. Here, I focus on Northern Ireland and Israel and Palestine as representing societies in intractable conflict. For a relatively tranquil region, I consider some research studies from the USA.

Intractable conflict is characterized by being explicitly violent, perceived as a zero sum game (where one gains only if the other loses), irreconcilable, central and total in a society's life (Bar-Tal, 1998). In areas where intractable conflicts are embedded, the critical themes in peace education are collective historical understanding, identity, mutual understanding and reconciliation.

Representatively, Kupermintz and Salomon (2005) explore peace education programmes in a region of intractable and violent conflicts. From various research studies about the cases of Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine, they draw out the importance to the region of collective narratives. They find that peace education programmes in such areas have at least three common qualities: first, the main focus of peace education is not the conflict between individuals who need to acquire conflict resolution skills, but rather between collectives; second, intractable conflicts are deeply rooted in each side's collective narrative – a story which it tells about itself, its identity, aspirations and perceived role in the conflict; and third, one of the major challenges facing peace education in the context of such conflicts, is that peace education faces the challenge of deeply

rooted beliefs held by each side about itself and about the adversary. In this context, the explored programmes in this article show the possibility of enhancing the potential of peace education programmes, since they are likely to foster the participants' ability to acknowledge the adversary's collective narrative, engage in constructive negotiations over issues of national identity and express a less monolithic outlook on the conflict.

Likewise, Yogev (2010) looked at history teaching in Israel by exploring the changes which it has undergone in recent years and the publication of new history textbooks. He focuses on sensitive subject matter, such as a change in standpoint, stereotypes, attributions and negative emotions and on the way in which the political and social contexts have both reflected and shaped the history curriculum. He links collective memory with critical historical literacy, which will eventually generate a very important insight: it will illuminate the incompleteness of the self-same historical narrative. Schimmel, too (2009), introduces a peace education programme in Israel that uses dialogue to foster mutual understanding and respect by critically assessing the conventional modes of peace education. Last but not least, Hirsch (2006) demonstrates the feasibility of using stories as part of an educational programme and research in peace education in Israel-Palestine. He reports on two distinctive projects and suggests that the use of stories can enhance empathy and identification with the 'other' and change attitudes toward her/him, while strengthening social contacts between Jews and Arabs in Israel.

In the case of Northern Ireland, the contribution of integrated schools – mixed schools of Catholics and Protestants - to peace education is considered

important. To illustrate, McGlynn et al. (2004), synthesize the findings of different studies regarding the impact of integrated education in Northern Ireland on social identity, intergroup attitudes and forgiveness and reconciliation. By exploring the role of schooling in a divided society and its relation to social identity, forgiveness and reconciliation, this research reports on the possible benefits of integrated education in the long term to both the pupils themselves and the society in which they live. Along with the research studies on integrated education, Tomovska (2010) conducted an ethnographic study focusing on two case studies of *contact programmes* for 10-11-year-old Protestant children in Northern Ireland.

The research studies on peace education in relatively tranquil societies, which are categorized as *global North* or *developed countries,* focus more on individual capability in conflict resolution and on the issues of public schooling. For example, Chubbuck and Zembylas (2011) explore the intersection of critical pedagogy and nonviolence in a case study of a white novice teacher at an urban school in the Midwestern USA. They link a critical pedagogy for nonviolence to peace education and suggest how this opens up spaces of possibility for greater justice.

Similarly, Hantzopoulos (2011) empirically examines the role of public schools as a place for critical peace education, in particular for those young people who have historically been marginalised in school. In order to pursue this, he carried out ethnography studies in a public high school in New York City and explored how students make meanings of their educational experiences at a school that emphasizes democratic principles and a commitment to peace and social justice. From his analysis, he suggests the potential of public schooling which

would offer critical peace education and maintains that several school structures must collectively support its dissemination in order to successfully act as conduits for critical peace education.

In terms of conflict resolution education, Jones (2006) describes and compares two key kinds of education in peace education, namely, education in conflict resolution and in human rights. She combines conflict resolution education and human rights education for the development of school-based peace education in the USA.

To sum up, it is recognizable that the overall goals of these studies are similar but the standpoint and the key aspects differ in different contexts. In my view, South Korean society can be judged, somewhat paradoxically, as both an intractable conflict society and a relatively peaceful one. The combination of these two characteristics seems to lead South Koreans to feel more perplexed in dealing with conflict and violence, and it makes the analysis of violence in South Korean society and schools even more complicated. This proposition will be explored and analysed below in this thesis.

As briefly mentioned earlier, peace education in South Korea is closely linked to reunification education. Hence, research studies on reunification education usually deal with policies towards North Korea, international affairs, especially between the USA and China, or the USA and Japan, and the curricular contents of reunification education in schools. Reunification education is usually covered in the subject of moral studies in South Korea. Here, I explore research studies on the analysis of reunification education in the moral studies curriculum

because this thesis focuses on schools and their culture with reference to peace education. As the issue of reunification is closely linked to geo-political relations (Kang and Kwon, 2011), some scholars have found that the content and knowledge about reunification changes follows the policy of the government in power. For instance, Kim (2009) analysed the different characteristics of reunification education represented in moral studies in the middle-school curriculum between the reigns of former president Roh Moohyun (2003-2008) and ex-president Lee Myungbak (2008-2012). The Roh administration had emphasized peace, prosperity, mutual understanding and cooperation while the Lee administration has stressed the strong military alliance between the USA and South Korea and the denuclearization of North Korea. Therefore, peace education played a crucial part in moral studies textbooks during the Roh administration, whereas learning about national security and the actual facts about North Korean society, which may have raised negative stereotypes of North Koreans, have recently been highlighted (Kim, 2009). Recognizably, peace education in the school curriculum reflects the political understanding and positioning of South Korea. Peace or reunification education was not part of the regular curriculum at the time of the empirical research, instead it was placed among extra-curricular subjects and/or activities. Moreover, peace education was not mentioned in any part of the curriculum, including moral studies textbooks. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Unification has distributed a guidebook to schools on the direction that reunification education should take in high school. The goals of this guidebook are*: establishing the future-oriented perspectives on reunification; sound perspective on security; and neutral perspectives on North Korea* (Ministry

of Unification, 2012).

Political changes have thus influenced the field of reunification education and its relation to peace education in the Korean peninsula. In this respect, Cha (2005) maintains that the paradigm should ideally shift to a reconciliation and peace paradigm and in order to do so, peace education along with multicultural education and democratic citizenship education should be introduced into the compulsory school curriculum. In addition, Jeong (2007) points out the need for peace education in the reunification discourse, in order to prepare the attitudes and minds of teenagers for a possible future reunification.

As can be seen, peace education is still under debate in South Korea. Due to its unique socio-political background, the discourse and practice of peace education have not led to any consensus there. That is, some scholars emphasize the issue of collective national reconciliation (Kwon, 2007); but at the same others call for individuals to be taught to gradually generate a culture of peace through reunification education based on a peace education approach (Sim and Ryu, 2004). These two somewhat conflicting positions cause misunderstandings and conflicts when we discuss peace education in South Korea. This being so, the review on the need for peace education in South Korea was introduced in this Section and made my own judgement on how to bring the theories and practice of peace education into harmony and to relate them to the concept of symbolic violence, explained earlier in Section 2.2.

2.5.5 Educational aims and pedagogical aspects of peace education

In order to attain the goal of peace education, its pedagogical aspects must be discussed. Peace education largely aims to lead societies towards a more sustainable and peaceful future. In order to implement the vision of peace education, Harris (2003, p. 20) identifies ten goals of effective peace education. Peace education aims:

> *'to appreciate the richness of the concept of peace; to address fears; to provide information about security systems; to understand violent behaviour; to develop intercultural understanding; to provide for a future orientation; to teach peace as a process; to promote a concept of peace accompanied by social justice; to stimulate a respect for life; and to end violence'.*

As Ashton (2007) points out, peace education involves a pedagogical shift in teaching methods and teacher attitudes. Indeed, peace education is not a single subject but an overarching philosophy as well as a set of practices. Therefore, it is impossible to administer peace education by offering *banking education* (Freire, 1970). In contrast to banking education, the goal of peace education can be achieved only by modelling peaceful, democratic classroom practices (Harris, 2004). For instance, learning should take place both by 'doing', in the sense of practical engagement and interaction, but also by processes of abstraction and reflection (Synott, 2005). In this process, dialogic and participatory processes are central in developing knowledge – both of teachers and learners (Carter, 2002; Chetkow-Yanoov, 2003; Freire and Shor, 1987). Second, given that peace is based on the understanding that human equality transcends culture, class, race or gender and that in a multicultural world the identity of all persons should be respected,

learners should be seen as rational and active beings (Synott, 2005). Therefore, a learner-centred approach is the key to peace education (Ashton, 2007). In other words, the shift of pedagogy is represented as moving towards an idea of 'critical literacy' (Davis, 2005, p. 44) – which is facilitative and interactive, where the teacher sees herself or himself as a learner and encourages students to see themselves as teachers. This can be described as creating a 'learning community' (Hord, 1997, p. 5, cited in Ashton, 2007). Furthermore, conflict resolution skills, non-violence and cooperation, critical thinking, empowerment and praxis are invaluable aspects of peace educational pedagogy (UNICEF, 1999).

Peace educational pedagogy is difficult to practise in current educational systems. It may sound vague to teachers and students in a place where values such as competition and levelling have precedence over anything else in schools. This could be the reason why peace education is so often criticised for being unrealistic and abstract. This is also why peace education can rarely be found in formal education settings anywhere in the world.

However, thinking the other way round, the transformability of peace education itself provides the way to change it to a more concrete form. Peace educational pedagogy is a necessary strategy for building a society where everyone lives together well. In no society can education fully escape from the criticism that it reproduces the ideology of the privileged. If education tries to turn itself to play a role in building a democratic society by giving everyone the chance to take part in learning for a flourishing life, education must transform itself first from reproducing the ideology of the privileged to resisting that ideology – admittedly a tall order. In other words, education must take action to change the

status quo which perpetuates the current culture of violence in society. In this respect, the transformation of its pedagogical priorities to peace education implies not just the promotion of an abstract philosophical discourse but the concrete realization of a true change of compass in education.

2.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has introduced and explored the theoretical background and framework of this thesis. The chapter was organised into two main parts – one focusing on the explanation of violence as symbolic and the other on the nature and contours of peace education.

The first part gave us a handle to understanding the concept of violence in this thesis. Above all other definitions of violence, I have found Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence the most serviceable one for explaining the culture of violence in general and its relevance to school culture in particular. In order to show how violence in South Korea has been symbolically expressed, the history of violence in South Korea was elaborated. Subsequently, the forms of violence occurring in South Korean education were elucidated by selecting four key problems that need addressing: private education, human rights issues, overt school violence and multicultural issues.

After going through the details of the violence-related issues, the second part of this chapter paid attention to the way in which peace education can be

applied theoretically and analytically. In so doing, I first introduced the basic idea and history of peace education with Hicks' diagram. Second, in order to understand the philosophical as well as educational aspects of peace education, peace education in the broader context of values education was explored. Then, in order to show how peace education is understood both in theory and in practice, the discussion on peace education was made in the following contexts: the elusiveness of peace education, local and global characteristics of peace education and the educational aims and pedagogical aspects of peace education.

The background theory and conceptualisations canvassed in this chapter have been aimed at clarifying the conceptual frame of this thesis. The discussion here will be applied analysing the data later in this thesis (Chapter 4) and to interpreting and discussing its salience (Chapter 5).

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In order to answer the research questions listed in the Introduction, the empirical part of my doctoral project made use of a qualitative approach, incorporating *critical ethnography* and *case studies*. This chapter discusses the specifications of the two italicised terms and gives reasons for choosing such general methods of enquiry. It also illustrates the specific methods of my research, such as observation, interviews and qualitative questionnaire; addresses some of their limitations; and finally elaborates upon the research design and procedures.

Given the premise that a more valid and localized understanding of a culture of violence embedded in schools can be achieved through describing and analysing the relevant processes of interaction among the participants, it seemed appropriate to focus on their everyday experiences in school. The reason for this is that a culture, as defined in the 'Dictionary of Sociology' (Scott and Marshall, 2009), is something which is transmitted in human society socially rather than biologically and thus the word 'culture' denotes the symbolic and learned aspects of human societies. For example, students and teachers unquestionably learn about their social culture and go on by interacting with each other to create or reproduce a culture of their own. Thus, classroom settings are continuously constructed, modified, mediated and confirmed by their participants' interaction in

the classroom (Kim, 1997). This is why I decided to focus specifically on the culture of the participants by looking at their interaction in schools. More precisely, my aim was to explore the hypothesis, for which historical and theoretical reasons were given in Chapter 1, that the culture of violence in South Korean society has pervaded school classrooms and is constantly reproduced by pupils and teachers.

Added to my rationale for choosing a qualitative approach is the fact that the academic approach used in discussing and investigating schools in South Korea has typically been quantitative – which, from my perspective, involves weaknesses in representing a critical and holistic view of schools. Thus, many empirical studies tend to explain diverse social effects on schools in relation to academic achievement only. For instance, Baek (2012) and Sung (2010) explored quantitatively the relationship between academic achievement and family background. As Kim (1997) argues, however, using quantitative research to examine schools often fails to show vividly and contextually what teachers and students are up to in practice in the classroom or how they interpret the meaning of what they are doing. Hence, a different methodology with a different philosophical background and approach is called for. Moreover, from my point of view, previous qualitative research studies on the culture in schools in South Korea have seemed limited in their power to describe and analyse the school culture deeply and critically, because they have rarely shared the reflexivity of researchers and participants. Rather, the habit of writing which tries to make the research more generalised and objective has been carried over into qualitative research studies from quantitative ones. For instance, Kim (2004) carried out

potentially interesting research on the different meanings of school discipline, yet she declared that this research is not well-developed methodologically because she reused older data and merely analysed it through the lens of a new topic. In terms of looking at the culture of school students, Cho and Kim (2009) explored the culture of university entrance examinations and the culture of young people at school. They classify students' behaviours and attitudes, however, through a quantitative inquiry-style of writing. Hence, their method appears pseudo-qualitative. This awareness of existing shortcomings motivated me to choose the methods which I eventually used and which will be described in more detail in this chapter.

Qualitative research, by definition, 'is an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry which help us to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible' (Merriam, 2001, p. 5). Qualitative research is at its best when it is done in authentic settings that help researchers gain access to the way in which people make sense of and experience their world. The philosophical rationale of qualitative research is the view that reality is meaningfully interpreted by individuals interacting with their social world. Likewise, as Sherman and Webb mention (1988, p. 7, cited in Merriam, 2001), 'qualitative research implies a direct concern with experience as it is "lived" or "felt" or "undergone"'.

As noted above, qualitative research is in general used by researchers who assume that meaning is embedded in people's experiences and for this reason the present research was conducted where other people's daily experiences could be seen. In order to discover the meaning of social phenomena by observing and

interacting with people, researchers must do *fieldwork*. In this process, they do not attempt to manipulate the phenomena but, since these phenomena are *the primary instrument* for data collection and analysis, the meanings are mediated through the investigator's own perceptions (Merriam, 2001; Patton, 2002). I, as the researcher in this study, took on the role of a qualitative researcher and chose various ways of implementing the research.

Qualitative research admits several types of enquiry, such as ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case study (Creswell, 1998). Different kinds of enquiry can also go together to triangulate and explain the phenomena in question (Merriam, 2001). From the diverse forms of enquiry, *critical ethnography* and *case study* were selected as the main forms for this study. Both methods are appropriate for this research because one of its primary goals is to describe the putative culture of violence embedded in schools (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and from there to look for the actual meanings that actors ascribe to this culture.

Accordingly, this chapter consists of four main sections: the first, *on the two selected methods;* the second, *on the design of the study;* the third on *reflections on the research process* and finally, *ethical issues*. In the design of the study, I describe *setting and participants, gaining entry, data collection, analysis and validity/trustworthiness*. At the end of the chapter, I summarize the critical points of each section.

3.2 The two selected methods

As mentioned above, *critical ethnography* and *case studies* are used in this research and it may be helpful to discuss them first.

Before considering *critical* ethnography, I want to discuss conventional ethnography, as commonly understood. According to Merriam (2001, p. 13), 'ethnography is a form of qualitative research employed by anthropologists to study human society and culture'. Culture is a concept that illustrates the collection of behaviour patterns and beliefs which is evolved by a certain group of people interacting together for a period of time (Goodenough, 1971, cited in Patton, 2002). Therefore, the central question of an ethnographic inquiry is 'What is the culture of this group of people?' In order to answer this question, researchers study an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time while collecting observational data (Creswell, 1998).

To start an ethnographic study, the ethnographer identifies a single site (e.g., a classroom), locates a group within it (e.g., a reading group) and gathers data about the group (e.g., observes a reading period). Researchers look for shared patterns of behaviour, belief and language adopted by the culture-sharing group over time. According to Spindler and Spindler (1992), a shared pattern in ethnography is a common social interaction that stabilizes as the tacit rules and expectations of the group. In sum, observing social interaction consisting of people's behaviour, beliefs and language at an identified site is a key activity in ethnographic studies. However, Suthers (2005) criticizes ethnography as an

atheoretical 'descriptive methodology' which cannot provide a method for addressing the conflicts implicit in cultures. Therefore, in order to explain such sources of conflict as inequality or injustice in society, many researchers consider *critical* ethnography to be a preferable alternative (Noblit et al., 2004). This adds a political purpose to ethnography (Thomas, 1993), eventually going beyond a description of the culture ('what is') to a critical search for meanings, in particular those which elude the individuals and which might initiate action for change ('what could be') (Noblit et al., 2004; Thomas, 1993).

Basically, critical ethnographers initially do the same as any other ethnographer in going about their work. But the critical element introduced into ethnography includes an advocacy perspective on what is observed and is a type of reflection that examines culture, knowledge and action with a view to changing it (Carspecken and Apple, 1992; Thomas, 1993). The point here is that it is fundamentally concerned with profound *changes* in society and the *voice* of the marginalised. Therefore, critical researchers, recognizing that all research is value laden, challenge the status quo and ask why it is so, seeking to connect the meaning of a situation to broader structures of social power and control (Carspecken, 1996). That is to say, critical ethnography reflects upon and interrogates marginalisation, domination, power, inequalities, interest and injustice in a research context (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Inglis, 1997; Thomas, 1993). Carspecken (1996) cites the study of Willis (1977), *Learning to labour,* as a representative example of critical ethnography.

Critical ethnography and peace education, which along with symbolic violence provides the theoretical framework of this research, have certain features

in common. Briefly, peace education is a practical as well as philosophical movement which aims to lead conflicted societies towards a social transformation, bringing about more judicial and peaceful conditions. Peace education also sees the world these days as a structure of exploitative and oppressive relations and concentrates on the importance of human subjects, in particular those who are oppressed by the privileged in society and an unequal or unjust social system. Critical ethnography is a suitable method for the present research precisely because it focuses on the school as an institution where a culture of violence continues to be reproduced and aims to listen to the voices of students and teachers in this system, both in order to gauge what meaning this system has for them and to offer suggestions on how to transform it.

Together with critical ethnography, *case study* has also been chosen as a method suited to the present research. Researchers often use the term *case study* in conjunction with ethnography, noting that a case study focuses on an in-depth exploration of an actual 'case' (Creswell, 2008). Case studies offer the chance to explore specific case(s) or bounded system(s) which are circumscribed by time and activity (Creswell, 1998). A case study therefore is aimed at researching the contextual phenomena which occur inside specific boundaries. Again, researchers in a case study collect detailed information, using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period (Stake, 1995). In short, a case study is more specific and may be more contextual than other kinds of ethnographic study.

Since a 'case' or 'cases' will allow researchers to explore in depth how participants interact with each other and form a culture, it is suitable for use in the present work. To illustrate, instead of visiting many schools to meet various

students and teachers, I chose three classes at S high school[9], my main site, and spent much time there building up rapport in order to conduct more in-depth observations. This was also one of the critical reasons for conducting this type of research – that it let me look for a link between the culture of the macro and that of the micro, or rather the macro as seen through the lens of the micro.

Through the methods of critical ethnography and case study, I used observation, interviews and a qualitative questionnaire (including the so-called draw-and-tell method) as well as documents, such as students' diaries and official documents, textbooks and photos which I had taken. Field notes and a diary of my fieldwork experience provided critical data. Below, I briefly characterise each method and describe how it was used in this research.

Fieldwork in a qualitative enquiry involves gathering data in the setting where the participants are located and where their shared patterns can be studied. In my fieldwork, the main methods were observation and interviews. Observation, by definition, is the technique of watching what people do, recording this in some way and then describing, analysing and interpreting the observations. The premise of the observation is that the actions and behaviours of people are a central aspect of virtually all real-world research (Robson, 2011). Making observations involves one of two distinctive approaches – one involves be a participant in the setting being studied and the other is to be an onlooker (Patton, 2002). The extent of participation can change as the fieldwork goes on; thus the researcher may begin the study as an onlooker and gradually becomes a participant or vice versa. The

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[9] The names of the schools were abbreviated to the initials of their English names.

researcher may also have a mixed role, part participant and part observer, for the whole period of fieldwork. This partly applied in my case, as explained below.

The merit of observation is its directness. However, there are some caveats to note. The researcher or observer may affect the setting because participants may not behave as they normally would, owing to their awareness of being observed. 'Critics of the ethnographic approach are concerned about researchers getting over-involved with the people being studied, perhaps disturbing and changing the natural setting and hence compromising the quality of the research. However, the argument is that 'in order to truly grasp the lived experience of people from their points of view, one has to enter into relationships with them and hence disturb natural settings' (Robson, 2011, p. 143). Observation gives the researcher an opportunity to watch what participants do and listen to what they say instead of asking participants directly about their views, feelings or attitudes. Hence, observation is an appropriate method in a qualitative inquiry, in particular when the research is focused on answering 'how' questions about the participants in the research setting. This research used observation to gather material on the interaction of students and teachers and the way in which this built up a school culture or was formed by the school culture. In so doing, I started being an onlooker at the site and gradually became a part-participant as I combined my field notes with data from personal and eyewitness observation gained from informal, natural dialogues with both students and teachers. Furthermore, I was being both a full participant at one site while being an onlooker observer at another, where the fieldwork for the triangulation was done.

Interviewing is another research method which typically involves

questions from researchers to participants, in the hope of using the answers as research data. Semi-structured interviews were employed in the present research, for three main reasons: first, hear the everyday and, I hoped, genuine thoughts and experiences of students and teachers and, therefore, rather than using closed topic-focused questioning I chose to leave space for participants to share their thoughts and feelings; second, from my experience of interviewing, people usually have no difficulty in starting to talk when prompted and so only the key questions were prepared to guide the interview. Last, in view of the time constraints, it was effective to have some questions in bullet form in order to collect pure information from the conversation. Traditionally, interviews are one-to-one and face-to-face, but can occur in different circumstances; increasingly, interviews with groups, on the telephone or on-line interviews are being used (Robson, 2011). In the present research, both individual and group interviews were conducted as events dictated – such as students being unwilling to participate in interviews unless they could do so with their friends, or when it was difficult for teachers to find free time in which to be interviewed.

While the primary source for the study was data from observation and interviewing, a qualitative questionnaire was used as a supplementary source. My main purpose in compiling a qualitative questionnaire was to find what its respondents thought when asked the same questions as my interviewees. In this questionnaire, the *draw-and-tell method* was used to see how students thought about their daily school lives in relation to the concepts of peace and violence. The draw-and-tell method is 'a straightforward way of gaining data from children' (Pridmore and Rifkin, 2001, p. 96). Usually, the method is used on children who

are exposed to and have experience of violence in society, such as apartheid in South Africa. Williams (2013) says that ethical child-centred research can be conducted in such cases by means of this method and that children's drawings may show strong evidence of, say, state crimes. Furthermore, it lets children express themselves fairly freely and honestly, regardless of their literacy skills. In the present research, given that South Korean students are (in my view) often culturally oppressed when it comes to saying what they think and commenting on it, asking them to draw something depicting their thoughts gave them a chance to express their thoughts and feelings and provided information-rich data. Finally, documents such as students' letters of self-introduction and planning notes and official documents from teachers, together with photographs taken by myself, were used as supplementary data.

The process of collecting the data; how they were analysed; and how the validity or trustworthiness of the data was sought are the topics of the next section.

3.3 Design of the study

3.3.1   Setting and participants

Of the different levels of schooling – elementary, middle and high – this research takes place in high schools. This is because they are seen as the last stage of compulsory education and the final stage for students before entering university. Given that the competitiveness of the entrance exams for tertiary education is very

significant in South Korea, high schools are considered the most sensitive and competitive of all levels of education. Accordingly, high schools in South Korea seemed the most appropriate places to explore the evidence relating to conflicts and the symbolic cultures of violence.

Taking several ethical and practical concerns into account, this research was carried out mainly in S high school, located in a north-western district of Seoul, the capital city of South Korea. As places for *triangulation,* D middle school on the northern outskirts of Seoul and two high schools – Y girls' high school, located in the centre of the city and G high school in south-western Seoul – were chosen.

Table 2. Overview of the research

Name of the school	Region (Socio-economic status)	Dates	Methods used	Number of participants (s: students/ t: teachers)
S high school	North-western Seoul (Mid-low)	Mar–Nov, 2012	Observation Interview Questionnaire	s: 120 (Interview: 33) t: 9
D middle school	North-eastern outskirts of Seoul (Low)	Sep – Dec, 2011	Observation Interview Questionnaire	s: 33 t: 1
Y girls' school	Middle of Seoul	June, 2012	Touring Questionnaire Casual interview	s: 60 t: 1
G high school	West of Seoul	April & July 2012	Participant observation Questionnaire	s: 30 t: 0

To begin with, the regional characteristics should be discussed in order to understand the selected schools. The different parts and districts of Seoul have different characteristics, in terms of social and economic level. To illustrate very simply, the southern part of Seoul is rich whereas the northern part is poor. The north-western part of Seoul where S high school is located is known, economically speaking, to be middle to lower class. About 90% of the students of S high school live in rented apartments for people with low incomes (diary_20120225). S high school is relatively new and was founded in 2006. Therefore, the school buildings appear new and clean. The school gate and the fence around the school are low in height and the building is square, with a staircase in the middle, making it quite complex to find offices and classrooms. On the building's façade, written in big letters is the school motto, 'People of S high school soaring up to the world'. The goal of education in S high school is to 'nurture students to become creative global citizens through personality and intelligence'. The classes were at first divided into boys' classes and girls' classes, but in 2012, it was decided to have mixed classes. There is a separate class for students with special needs.

At the school gate is a sign forbidding smoking. Here, students are warned not to smoke by being shown the penalty. On the first floor are specialised rooms for different activities such as art and cooking. The first grade students have the second floor and the second grade students have the third floor. There is a library on the fourth and fifth floors and on the top floor of the school (the fifth), the third grade students study for their university entrance examinations. The school

cafeteria is also on the fifth floor.

S high school follows the normal pattern for South Korean schools that, students stay in the same classroom, while teachers move from one room to another as timetables dictate. Otherwise, they stay in their offices. Students leave their classrooms only for Physical Education, and art, English and mathematics classes arranged according to ability. Otherwise, students leave their classrooms only at break- and lunch-times.

Bongsu Jo[10] teaches Korean history but he is not a form tutor. Following the national curriculum, the first grade students have Korean history for one semester per year. Therefore, I stayed on the second floor and went to the classrooms 6, 7 and 8 where Korean history is taught in the first semester. With five other teachers, Bongsu was working in the office on the third floor called the Humanities Education Department. When the bell rang, I went down the stairs with him to attend his classes and stayed on the third floor during breaks and between classes.

Bongsu is a gatekeeper[11] for research. He was thinking of retiring in 2012, but for personal reasons, deferred it. He is a member of the Korean Teachers' Union (KTU), which was established in 1989. This organization was considered illegal until ex-president Kim Daejung legalised it in 1999. In the intervening years, many teachers were dismissed. Bongsu has also been dismissed for being a member of the KTU. Korean history, his special area, is a non-mainstream

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[10] All the names of the participants are fictitious.

[11] A gatekeeper is an individual who has an official or unofficial role at the site, provides entrance to a site, helps researchers locate people assists in the identification of places to study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

subject[12]. In 2011 he was a form tutor for a boys' class but had no tutorial class in 2012 because he had contemplated taking retirement. Hence his timetable now comprised teaching his subject and working as a member of the Humanities Education Department. Here his task was to organise club activities for the students. As he is more interested in activities outside school, he is involved in an organization called *Olor*. This is an NGO which works for youth, in particular those who drop out of school. He has a PhD in the Sociology of Education, so he also gives lectures part-time at the university. He is very much interested in students who are categorized as juvenile delinquents or maladjusted and wants to do something for them. He says that he does not care what the principal wants him to do in school, but instead wants to make his students feel involved in their school life. As he belongs to the older generation of teachers, other teachers, including the principal, barely criticize him when he does something different with his students. This was one of the critical advantages for me in starting the present research in S high school. Finally, Bongsu explicitly supported Seoul's Superintendent of Education in 2012 and the Students' Human Rights Ordinance. As explained in Section 2.4.2, this means the progressive stand in the politics in South Korea. Therefore, this symbolizes his political position and his thinking, overall, on South Korean education and students.

Bongsu, facilitated the observation of three classes were allowed to be observed. Each class had 35 students, more or less. All the students and their form tutors agreed to be observed and these tutors approved my presence in their

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[12] Mainstream subjects are Korean, Math and English: in South Korea, students normally see non-mainstream subjects as unimportant because they are not primary subjects in the university entrance examinations.

classes in Korean history. Form tutors also agreed to take part in interviews; the students whom I had specifically chosen also agreed to participate in interviews. The basic criteria in the choice were informed from field notes and the letters of self-introduction passed on by their form tutor (further details are in a later section). In addition, the teachers in the Humanities Education Department allowed me to stay in their office and observe the everyday events and participated in interviews. The demographic features of the interviewees in S high school are shown in the tables below:

Table 3. Interview participants: teachers in S high school

Name	Sex	Length of work experience	Age	Subject
Bongsu Jo	M	25 years	Late 50s	Korean history
Samjae Lee	M	20 years	Mid 50s	Korean
Yuna Kim	F	8 years	Late 30s	Korean
Saechan Kang	M	1 year	Mid 30s	English (temporary contract)
Seoyoung Lee	F	20 years	Early 50s	Korean
Suchol Woo	M	20 years	Early 50s	English
Nanhee Yoo	F	20 years	Early 50s	Korean Literature
Injae Jung	F	1 year	Late 20s	English (temporary contract)
Wonro Lee	M	40 years	Early 60s	English

Table 4. Interview participants: pupils

Name	Sex	Age	Level of academic achievement	Note

Haerim Kim	F	16	Middle	Class 6
Mingi Kim	M	16	High	-
Eunhye Gil	F	16	High	-
Sumi Choi	F	16	Low	-
Minju Choi	F	16	Low	-
Hyesung Lee	F	16	Low	-
Yoonji Lee	F	16	Low	-
Jonghyun Kim	M	16	Mid-high	-
Gangjoo Lee	F	16	High	-
Saeil Oh	M	16	High	-
Gyungmin Nam	F	16	High	-
Namsoon Go	M	16	Mid-low	-
Minkyung Kim	F	16	Mid-high	-
Hakyung Song	F	16	High	Class 7
Jiwoo Moon	M	16	Mid-high	-
Gaeun Oh	F	16	Middle	-
Nari Gae	F	16	Mid-low	-
Saegyung Kang	F	16	Mid-low	-
Dayoon Lee	F	16	Mid-low	-
Jihoon Lee	M	16	Low	-
Giduck Byun	M	16	Low	-
Jungho Oh	M	16	Low	-
Eegyung Lee	M	16	Low	-
Gyuwhan Lee	M	16	High	-
Bomi Kim	F	16	High	Class 8
Hyesun Shin	F	16	Mid-high	-
Dongsuk Kim	M	16	High	-
Dani Kim	F	16	High	-

Jia Kim	F	16	Low	-
Heebong Yeo	F	16	Low	-
Sohee Park	F	16	Low	-
Jihyun An	F	16	Mid-low	-
Heungsoo Park	M	16	Mid-low	-

As noted above, one middle school and two high schools were chosen as research locales for triangulation. In D middle school, on the north-eastern outskirts of Seoul, the students in general are also of low socio-economic status. The school is surrounded by small and old apartment complexes and houses. D middle school was established in 1986 and is a mixed school. Its educational purpose (stated as its *management goal*) is to 'first, raise creative human resources based on the right personality and capacity, second, to build a happy school with dreams and energy, third, to construct a cooperative system among parents, school and community and last, to use democratic management skills to allow everyone to participate in deciding school issues'. The ratio of boys to girls is unbalanced – 128 boys and 51 girls in the second grade. Hence, in the class taught by Minsuk Choi (male, in his late 30s), there were 23 boys and only 10 girls. Minsuk, who let me come and observe the interaction among pupils, teaches moral studies and was form tutor of a second form.

Generally, middle schools also adopt a similar format to high schools in managing classroom and classes – students stay in their homerooms and teachers go to their various classes. However, D middle school introduced the 'subject-classroom system', in which teachers stay in one classroom and students move to

their allotted classes. This is a quite new approach in South Korea. Minsuk's classroom was on the fourth floor of the main school building. The school has three buildings altogether; two are connected by walkways and the third, behind the main building, is separate and used as a cafeteria. On the door of the cafeteria is a poster which lists the 'five enemies of D school and the penalties for them'. The five enemies are '1) insolence to teachers; 2) disturbing class during school hours; 3) smoking; 4) school violence; 5) bullying'.

Picture 1. Five enemies of D middle school

Minsuk is interested in peace education and has just finished his master's thesis on the topic. He thinks that research which looks deeply into classrooms is needed and therefore welcomed the prospect of my conducting fieldwork in his classroom. However, due to some practical constraints, I was able only to interview him and give the students in his class a qualitative questionnaire to answer during the semester.

Another locale is Y girls' high school. This school is in the middle of Seoul, known for its political and financial activities and as a broadcasting centre. The district's socio-economic status is relatively high or middle class. Y girls' high school is surrounded by apartment blocks. However, most of its students are

not from this district but from a neighbourhood with a lower socio-economic status (diary_20120206). The school building is about the same size as D middle school, but its playground is the smallest of all the schools under review. Y girls' high school was founded in 1983 and it was singled out by Seoul City Council in 2011 for showing creative management in reducing the rate of private education and tutoring among students and a model school in the achievement-evaluation system. The educational goal of this school is 'to raise women of all-round excellence who develop and show genuine personality and always think about the future of their society and nation, with a proactive outlook and great ambition'. The school building looks tidy and well planned. This school contains a snack bar where students can use their credit cards. Here, as normal, the teachers go to each class for their teaching while the students stay in their homerooms. There are three main teachers' offices, one each for the first grade teachers, second grade teachers and third grade teachers. In this school, Daewoong Um (male, in his late 50s,) helped me to look around and consult his form students' daily reports. He also let me distribute a qualitative questionnaire to the three classes that he taught.

Finally, G high school is located on the west side of Seoul. This place used to be famous as an industrial area and its current socio-economic status is middle to lower class. The school is next to Y middle school, near the subway station and is surrounded by small office buildings. G high school was founded in 1981, so it looks quite old. It consists of two buildings connected by a walkway. Its cafeteria is integral and delivers the school lunches to every classroom. The classes are mixed, but there are more boys than girls overall. The main building of G high school has on its first floor a big main office for teachers, which the vice-principal

also uses. The office of the principal is next door. The educational goal of G high school is 'to raise competent persons who are ethical, creative, independent and ready to serve others'. In this school, Jisun Cha (female, in her mid-50s), who was introduced by Daewoong, allowed me to use 4 days' experience as a part-time lecturer as research data. I was able to teach second grade English for 4 days because the teacher who normally did so was attending in-service training in Japan. This is where some participant observation was conducted. In this school, it was impossible to conduct interviews, but the students in the English classes answered the qualitative questionnaire.

Both Daewoong and Jisun are members of the Korean Teachers' Union and have experienced dismissal. Unlike Bongsu in S high school, they are involved in school politics and administrative work. Daewoong, who teaches history, was a director of department for the third grade and Jisun, who teaches moral studies, was the head of the Education Planning Department. Thus they were busy with school projects.

The four schools visited for the present research project had similar, more or less identical, characteristics. One of the main areas of common identity was that all three high schools made 'entrance examination for the university' a priority. Moreover, all the schools, including D middle school, imposed a 'penalty points system' for the purpose of controlling students. Smoking incurs the highest penalty in every school and classroom attitude and insolent behaviour to teachers are other ways of earning penalty points. This system was encouraged by the 'Students' Human Rights Ordinance'. Before this ordinance, students' appearance, for example, their length of their hair, or of the uniform skirt, was decided by the

school. But nowadays, none of the four schools seeks to control the appearance of students. Surprisingly, or perhaps not, the classrooms look almost exactly the same in all the schools observed. The lectern in front of the blackboard faces the students' desks and chairs are set out in rows. Above the blackboard hang the national flag, the school motto and the classroom motto. Beside the blackboard, the timetable of the class and a note board are displayed. Only S high school had nothing on the back wall of the classroom; the other schools used the back wall to post various items of information provided by the students.

Last, Isoo Seo (female, late 20s, 7 years of experience) and Hyunjoo Nam (female, mid 30s, 8 years of experience) were introduced to participate in the interviews before the fieldwork started in D middle school. They are high school teachers in G city in Gyunggi province. Isoo teaches Korean and Hyunjoo teaches Chinese. Their interview data were used as triangulation data for the teachers' interviews.

In general, the schools I have presented here represent common features of South Korean education. More importantly, the socio-economic backgrounds of the schools chosen are fairly modest, which, from my point of view, may offer the possibility of showcasing the diverse aspects of social injustice and the cultures of violence that occur accordingly. These considerations lead me to believe that the chosen sites are appropriate for this research. However, given that this is a qualitative research project, no claims will be made here that these sites present a statistically reliable cross-section of South Korean schools.

3.3.2 Gaining entry

In this section, the process of gaining access to participants of different levels is narrated: principals, teachers and students. To provide a snapshot of my trials to start the fieldwork, the fieldwork timetable is illustrated below before the narration.

Table 5. The process of the entry to the field

Time	The process of the entry to the field	Success or fail
2011. 3	C high school in Gyunggi Province	Failed to get entry
2011. 7	Interview with Isoo Seo and Hyunjoo Nam, teachers in J high school located in G city in Gyunggi Province	
2011. 8	First meeting with Minsuk Choi in D middle school	
2011. 9 - 12	Observation in D middle school (Only in Minsuk's form class) and distributed questionnaires	Succeeded
2012. 2	Introduced to Daewoong in Y girls' high school and Bongsu in S high school, Jison in G high school	
2012. 3 – 11	Observation, interviews, distributed questionnaire in S high school	Succeeded
2012. 4. 12- 17	Part-time teaching in G high school (English)	Succeeded
2012. 6	Touring in Y girls' high school and distributed questionnaires	Succeeded
2012. 7	Distributed questionnaires in G high school	Succeeded

My first attempt to contact schools for the study began in early 2011 as

soon as the University of Birmingham had accepted me as a PhD candidate. I originally decided to contact the school principals of the schools to be visited. The reason for choosing these principals as the primary gatekeepers of the research had to do with the culture and the system of South Korean schools. That is, generally, a bureaucratic system is combined with Confucian thinking which leads the school culture to be strictly hierarchical; thus the words of the principal carry supreme weight in the school. I first met the principal of C high school in Osan city, which is in the southern part of Gyunggi-province. This school was a private Christian school[13], so it had a chaplain who taught religious education as well as moral studies. In addition, this school chaplain was a homeroom teacher of a first grade boys' class. The principal was interested in doing research in the classroom; he introduced me to the chaplain and asked him to help with my research. I visited the school to meet both men and discussed my plans. At the time, I had only one scenario: that I should go into one classroom and observe students and teachers interacting. However the school chaplain would not let me into his class. He gave two reasons for refusing; that he was not comfortable to have anyone observing his class because almost all students sleep during the class hour; and that he thought it was dangerous for me to stay in the classroom during break time without a teacher who could control the students.

At this point, it seemed as if it would not be easy to find a place for research because teachers were reluctant to open their classrooms to outsiders.

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[13] Unlike the UK, South Korea has public schools which are hard to tell apart. Private schools also follow the national curriculum and their atmosphere is almost the same, for example, in teaching styles, classroom structure and so on. The key difference between the two lies in the fact that teachers in private schools do not need to move to other schools in the region and that the school is run by a board of directors.

Even if the principal compelled them to help the research, it would not be easy to find open minds if they were forced to open their class. Worse still, the teachers whom I asked to approve my plans told me that 'classrooms are all the same.' Hence, they made me think that it was unnecessary to observe different classrooms and students. From this experience, I learned that:

1) It is better to start by finding an individual teacher who is interested in 'research', rather than by contacting the principal – of course, this depends on the school's situation.
2) I needed to prepare some 'official documents' to show staff, perhaps a brief snapshot of what my research procedure might look like in their classroom, written on a paper bearing my university stamp.
3) I should prepare some possible scenarios to show teachers how I could carry out my research in their classrooms.
4) I would have to build a very close relationship with the teachers in order to pursue my research (fieldnote_20120305).

After this unsuccessful contact, I discussed the issue with my previous supervisor and decided to reconsider the focus of the project, first, by stressing the point that observation would conducted on how students study and play in the classroom, not what and how teachers teach; second, by using the term 'education for international understanding' or 'education for peace by UNESCO' instead of using the term *peace education*[14] when first contacting teachers, because teachers usually hesitate to bring up political issues. Third, considering the cultural difference between South Korea and the UK, I brought with me papers with a university letterhead on which to design a consent form. The reason for this has to do with the overall culture; people in South Korean institutions such as schools and public offices look favourably on overseas degrees, in particular those from the US and the UK. Therefore, to show teachers and students the authority of

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[14] As noted in Chapter 2, peace education is commonly understood in South Korea as something political in relation to the issues between North and South Korea.

my position as a doctoral student of a university in the UK would underwrite the validity of the research. Finally, having a teacher's certificate to teach English in middle schools and high schools, I devised another scenario of becoming a teacher and in this way experiencing and observing the culture of the school.

A brief explanation of the qualitative nature of this research was illustrated in a short proposal. Also, three possible scenarios were exemplified in this proposal to give the teachers some idea how the research would be carried out:

1) I would go into another teacher's class and observe students and teachers (a number of different teachers because each subject has its own specialists and they come and go around the school while the students stay in the same classroom)
2) I would merely follow one other teacher and in this way meet several classes (groups of students), but I would see only this teacher's classes. In this case, I would prefer to make the same arrangement with two teachers, one who teaches a mainstream subject such as Korean, Maths, or English and another who teaches a non-mainstream subject
3) Since I have a teacher's license in English and Religion, I could teach students if the school needed an extra teacher for either of these subjects. Through this process, I could manage my fieldwork on my own (diary_20110315).

As I was struggling to find the right way to approach the schools, a teacher in D middle school, Minsuk Choi (in his late 30s), who was one of a group of teachers in peace education, showed an interest in my research. However, Minsuk had to move to another high school in Seoul in 2012 and was unable to help me further. Luckily, I was introduced to an old family friend, Daewoong, who taught in Y girls' high school. He was willing to help me but he preferred a *safe and easy* approach. For instance, rather than doing regular observation in the classroom, he suggested that I should make do with once-for-all interviews. Except for the fact that his school would have a new principal in early 2012, he was positive about my research studies. Unfortunately, however, due to some scheduling problems, I was able to visit Y girls' high school only a few times, to

observe and administer a questionnaire.

Daewoong mentioned Jisun and also Bongsu, who later became the key gatekeeper of the present research and asked them to help my research. The following February, I met Bongsu and talked about the study. He warmly agreed that peace education must be considered if the violent culture in schools is to be mitigated. S high school, where Bongsu was teaching, naturally became the main place for my research because he let me visit it as often as I wanted. He helped me interview students as well as teachers and to administer a questionnaire. Importantly, he was very much interested in this research and thought of the project as a chance to learn what students really thought and to reflect on his own teaching style. Thanks to his help, I did not need to meet the principal of the school but at the beginning of the semester introduced myself to the vice-principal.

Finally, I contacted Jisun. According to Daewoong, she was the head of the Education Planning Department which carries a heavy responsibility in schools. Jisun suggested that it would be much better if I could enter the school as a short-term or a part-time English teacher. She promised to let me know if an opening occurred in G high school. In the middle of April, just before the mid-term examination, I was given the chance to teach English for four days as a part-time teacher. This was a stroke of luck because students are as a rule easily unsettled a week before an examination: the students in S high school might otherwise have resented my presence in their classroom. Qualitative questionnaire were distributed to the students of G high school after the short spell of teaching there, at the end of the semester.

To sum up, it was not very easy to find schools and talk to staff about the fieldwork, observation, interviews and peace education. However, in the process of gaining entry to each school, I was able to learn and get a sense of its culture and of teachers' general views on their job and their students.

3.3.3   *Data collection, analysis and validity/trustworthiness*

To supplement the methods of observations, interviews and questionnaires discussed above, combined with the draw-and-tell method for students, I used photographs, students' letters of self-introduction written at the beginning of the new semester in S high school, students' planning notes from Y girls' high school, notes written as field notes of casual conversations with teachers and students, and my diary.

As explained, the research was done in one high school as a primary site and one middle school and two high schools as places for triangulation. Entry to schools began from early 2011, but the actual data collection began on 30th August, 2011 and it ended on 27th November, 2012. From 30th August to 27th December, 2011, I spent three hours every Tuesday and Wednesday in Minsuk's classroom. After the winter vacation, I met Daewoong and Bongsu in February and started the fieldwork at the main site on 13th March to 27th November. In this period of time, I observed the selected classroom from 13th March, ending on 19th June, just before the final examination of the first semester. In the second semester, when my baby was born, due to some practical staff decisions, I visited S high school

only every so often to conduct interviews with some of the selected teachers. During the first semester, I did fieldwork three times a week: Monday afternoons and all day on Tuesdays and Thursdays. I also visited the school on some Wednesdays and Fridays. Finally, from 12th April to 17th April, just before the mid-term examination period, I taught some classes in G high school and between late June and early July, I visited Y girls' high school to take a school tour and administer the qualitative questionnaire.

Data collection started by writing up a diary every time I met one of the principals or teachers and entered a new research field. As soon as I entered a classroom, I began a formal observation of it and wrote down what I saw, heard, felt and thought. In this project, observation was one of the most productive research methods. For this my role was that of an onlooker. I simply sat on the left- or right-hand side of the room at the back and wrote observational notes. To illustrate, in D middle school, I always sat at the back of the classroom, next to the window. Luckily, there was an empty seat there from which I could observe the whole room. Since I am quite small, students sometimes did not even notice my presence. In S high school, also, I sat at the back of the classroom, but sometimes when no chair was free I stood in the same place. Occasionally, students turned round, looked at what I was doing and asked what I had written in my notes. By contrast, when I taught classes in G high school, I carried out my observation in plain view of them all. The data from G high school led to me to reflect more on teachers' views of students and teaching. The data also showed my reflections on the way that I had interacted as a teacher with various students in classrooms.

The purpose of the observation was to learn how students spent their time

and interacted with each other and how relationships between students and teachers were formed. I did not use a checklist to observe. However, I had in advance chosen several possible targets to observe in order to formulate some standards. For example, I looked at the interaction between teachers and the class as a whole and at the same time, I focused more specifically on students whose behaviour was unusual, noting where they sat, how they spent their time and interacted with their friends and the teacher, etc. In G high school, I observed how the students interacted with me during classes. I focused on observing how students reacted to my class and how I felt and thought about their reaction.

My advancing reflexivity and awareness of the micro-phenomena of students' behaviours and conversations became an important part of the field notes. In general, reflexivity is understood as a process of reflection on the relation between theory and data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Researcher reflexivity is commonly understood as the researchers' engagement with their own positioning in relation to their research field and/or self-conscious writing-up of research itself an act of representation (Gray, 2008). In addition, reflexivity in critical ethnography broadly takes two forms – either self-reflection on possible biases regarding research participants and/or fields or reflection on the dialectic relationships between structural/historical forces and human agency (Gary, 1989). This being so, I posited myself as a *critical ethnographer* and reflected on the students being observed. That is, my basic positioning of myself was as a critical researcher and some-kind-of teacher in the observing and interacting with participants in a classroom. I scrutinised my data by carefully considering my ideological background/bias vis-á-vis the participants' common world and its

relationship with social constructs, noting that I myself formed part of the social constructs under scrutiny, as often happens in qualitative studies. Moreover, I paid much attention to getting a sense of how students and teachers felt during the class, through exploring their facial expressions and demeanour, not only the words that fell from their lips.

Researcher reflexivity is particularly important when the researcher assumes a dual role, as I did in G high school. Let me reiterate here that becoming a teacher-cum-researcher in this school was not my ideal choice, but rather the only realistic way to get quick access to the school. Because this was not my main investigative site (S high school was), but a secondary site mainly chosen for triangulation purposes, I decided that the pros of getting access outweighed the cons of any possible bias in the data due to possible confusion over roles, where students would possibly continue to treat me as a teacher even when I approached them for research purposes. Even so, in the analysis traced in Chapter 4 I treated data from G high school much more cautiously than data from the other research sites.

My notes were written down under three headings as my observation progressed. First, I captured the private dialogues by students in class. This gave me hints for understanding their language and their culture. Second, I made notes of what I was thinking and points which sprang up during observation, such as 'Why do the students at the back sleep and get angry so easily?' These notes and questions to myself were very important, because they evolved into questions and categories which would later form themes (see Chapter 4). And, last, I briefly described the arrangements of the seats. In South Korea, the seating plan is fixed

by the form tutors but students often change places when their form tutor is not watching. Therefore, while the overall structure of the class seems the same, the students are changing all the time. The seating showed the power-relations among students and the relationship between teachers and students. All these points in my notes are critical in re-creating the situations in class. Moreover, the notes were important in reminding me of ideas that had slipped my memory and helped me develop more definite and clearer ideas and concepts for further inquiry.

At first in the observation, the students seemed distant; they rarely even said 'hello'. In D middle school, for example, since I spent such a short time there, it was difficult to build a rapport with them. But some students, the girls in particular, appeared curious about me and between classes talked to me about what they were thinking. In S high school, as time passed and thanks to my pregnancy, the students showed some curiosity and started to say 'hello' and to ask questions. So I was able to get close to some of them, above all those who sat at the back of the class, and build a degree of rapport in this school. Once this was formed, Bongsu and I started *purposeful sampling*[15] to select students from each class. In order to, the letters of I self-introduction written by each student early in the semester were referred in order to pick interviewees who are *information rich*[16]. Form tutors of classes 6, 7 and 8 gave permissions to read these letters. Along with my observation notes, 30 students were chosen and later 3 more

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[15] In purposeful sampling, researchers deliberately select individuals and sites to learn or understand a central phenomenon. The standard used in choosing participants and sites is whether they are "information rich" (Patton, 2002).

[16] Three sets of criteria were used to select students who are information rich: first, those who appeared most often in my fieldnotes; second, their academic achievements; and last, those who wrote down something spectacular in their letters of self-introduction such as 'I would be happy only if I get good results in exam', 'I have no dream', 'I would earn a lot of money after I graduate', 'I don't talk with my parents' or something similar.

students were added who were introduced by a student who had been in the original selection. Thus, in this study, *snowball sampling*[17] was also employed. From the students' interviews, some teachers showed up as future participants, but practical constraints prevented me from getting in touch with all of them. However, I was able to build relationships with several teachers in the Humanities Education Department as well as the form tutors of classes 6, 7 and 8 during the fieldwork period in S high school. This opportunity opened the relationship with Seoyoung Lee in her extracurricular activity class of multicultural education, because I had worked in multicultural education in South Korea before starting this research. Hence, by using *opportunistic sampling*[18], those teachers were interviewed because of the sense that there has been some rapport established.

It was difficult to find extra time after school hours so Bongsu let me use his class time to hold interviews with students. The students who took part in interviews agreed to take time out of their class with him. Interviewing was done in a counselling room for career development. But if the room was occupied by others, I held the interview in the playground or in an empty classroom. Interviews with teachers were arranged in their offices when they had no classes.

The interviews, as I have said, were semi-structured. So I developed some consistent practices in conducting them. The questions were prepared on the basis of my observations, casual conversations with Bongsu and my close friends and

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[17] Snowball sampling began after the data collection had started. It is a form of purposeful sampling that typically proceeds after a study has begun and occurs when the researcher asks participants to recommend other individuals to study (Creswell, 2007).
[18] Opportunistic sampling, taking advantage of events as they unfold, is used after the research has begun, to help answer the research questions. In this process, the sample emerges during the inquiry (Creswell, 2007).

students and also from media accounts and academic research studies on school violence and other educational problems. I used a dialectical method of interviewing by discussing issues with prepared questions (see Appendices). My previous experience as a short-term temporary teacher was helpful in opening up these sessions. Most interviews went well, except for those with certain teachers, whose answers were evidently drawn from what other people thought and not always what they thought. They thus spoke in the third person and tried to give examples which they had seen in the newspapers. Nevertheless, I used their interviews as data because I was able to catch glimpses of their own perspectives on students and teaching. In addition, their authoritative attitudes gave me some hints about school culture in general. And a few students talked about their personal lives – how they lived and some of their current concerns. I asked anyone who did that to give me the chance of another interview with them.

All in all, along with my diary and field notes, I collected 32 files of interviews, each of which generally took about an hour. A qualitative questionnaire including the draw-and-tell method was distributed to all the students I that met during the fieldwork, yielding 120 questionnaires from S high school, 30 questionnaires from D middle school, 60 questionnaires from Y girls' high school and 30 questionnaires from G high school. In addition, letters of self-introduction from students of S high schools (120 copies), study planning diary from students of Y girls' high school (30 copies), official documents from teachers and some photographs are used as supplementary data.

Table 6. Collected questionnaires

Schools	Numbers of questionnaires collected
S high school	120
D middle school	30
Y girls' high school	60
G high school	30

In order to analyse the data collected, the so-called *thematic coding approach* was considered first. The thematic coding approach is '1) A generic approach not necessarily linked to a particular (or any) theoretical perspective; 2) All or parts of the data are coded (i.e. identified as representing something of potential interest) and labelled; 3) Codes with the same label are grouped as a theme; 4) Codes and themes occurring in the data can be determined inductively from reviewing the data and/or from relevance to … research questions, previous research or theoretical considerations; 5) The themes then serve as a basis for further data analysis and interpretation; 6) Makes substantial use of summaries of the themes, supplemented by matrices, network maps, flow charts and diagrams; 7) Can be used on a purely descriptive or exploratory basis, or within a variety of theoretical frameworks' (Robson, 2011, p. 467). Along with the thematic coding approach, I applied *reconstructive analysis* and used *low-level coding* and *high-level coding* (Carspecken, 1996), as explained below. Since this research constitutes a critical ethnographic study, in analysing its data such an approach was appropriate.

The first analysis of the data, called *first code categorization*, was made

in September 2012; it categorized under codes only the material from field notes written in S high school. Based on this analysis, the interview questions for teachers were prepared in order to link the students' daily lives and teachers' thoughts on them. After the interviews, all the data, including the supplementary data, followed the process of *reconstructive analysis*. Given that qualitative analysis is about the representation or reconstruction of social phenomena (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996), the coding procedure had first to find the decisive link between the raw data and the theoretical concepts (in this thesis, the key concepts of symbolic violence and peace education) (Seidel and Kelle, 1995). In so doing, the *low-level coding* with very little abstraction was done first and then *high-level coding* was undertaken in order to move naturally towards the writing stage, focusing on embodied meanings, power and secondary concepts of interaction (Carspecken, 1996).

Throughout the coding procedure, I first generated three grand themes in order to draw a big picture of the data. Then, I grouped the data according to each research question, categorized eleven subthemes and located them under the three grand themes. In so doing, I had difficulty in fitting the data neatly into themes because they are mostly interrelated and it was hard to pick specific parts out of the whole dialogue and field notes. After this whole process, I applied high-level coding in order to thematise categories which led the discussion of this research.

As I have illustrated, I spent two years doing the fieldwork at the most appropriate site for this research, building trust among participants as a researcher. I also considered two kinds of triangulation – one for sources and the other for methods. For the triangulation of sources, I chose three more schools to check out

the consistency of the data and at one site played the dual role of researcher and teacher. And for the methods triangulation, I applied three main methods, along with the use of supplementary data such as documents and textbooks. All of these strategies attest to the *credibility of qualitative research* (Patton, 2002). Therefore, I would argue that the data set and the process of collecting and analysing the data support my assumption about the validity and/or trustworthiness of this research. But even though I believe that the process as a whole is trustworthy, there may be some specific biases in my data; for example, sitting at the back of the classroom naturally led me build up closer relationships with students at the back. Furthermore, as I have a different socio-economic background from the students who participated in this research, I may have been held in the grip of certain ingrained stereotypes in looking at students' behaviours and attitudes. In order to minimize such biases and to confirm better the validity of the research, I had a discussion with Bongsu at the last stage of the data analysis in which I compared by findings with his intuitions.

In this methodological discussion, I have focused on *specific* limitations that may threaten the validity of my research and the ways in which I tried to overcome them. What I can say in my defence, however, is that by using a variety of qualitative methods with observations in the foreground – rather than relying on questionnaires or interviews alone – I hope to have minimized the danger that such biases would undermining my findings.

3.3.4 Reflections on the research

Throughout the fieldwork period, I learned and trained myself to adopt basic skills, attitudes and values in becoming a qualitative researcher, in particular in the field of education. Before beginning the fieldwork, I had been burdened by some hasty stereotypical generalisations, such as: 'students will all dislike punishment'; 'teachers will all justify aggression towards students'; and 'students will all dislike studying', and so on. However, as the process continued, I learned that the researcher needs to be able and willing to look beyond such unhelpful generalisations as she conducts observations and interviews and also interprets the data. Schooling is in practice much richer and more nuanced than such sweeping generalisations allow for. Hence, although many of my original assumptions were confirmed, as the following chapters will testify, the 'confirmations' turned out to be both much more complex and more subtle than I had envisaged at the outset. I also discovered new aspects of the meaning of schooling in South Korea, such as teachers' genuine desire to change the nature of schooling and the fact that students more often than not seem to behaving 'rationally' and 'predictably', given the nature of the system with which they are faced. Even deviant behaviour has become normalised and implicitly rule-governed. I learned *the value of respecting the research participants* in order to build rapport and obtain truly enriching data. Throughout this learning process, while I had to set some of my initial assumptions aside, others (e.g. about prevalent military influences on school culture) were well confirmed. Overall, the completion of this research has led me to believe further in the value of qualitative research in exploring the

meanings of social culture.

3.3.5 Ethical issues

Ethics in research refers to rules of proper research conduct; typically conformity to a code or set of principles (Israel and Hay, 2006). Researchers approach these in different ways and social researchers argue over the dilemmas they face due to context-specific issues (Robson, 2011). Likewise, there are some differences between the ethical codes of the British Education Research Association (BERA) and the Korean Education Research Association (KERA). Moreover, the cultural differences between the UK and South Korea should not be forgotten. Because this research took place in South Korea but had to be reported to a British institution, I bore in mind the ethical codes from both BERA and KERA.

Together they raise four possible ethical issues in this research. They may be considered under the headings of informed consent, privacy, harm and consequences for future research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

First, although it is unavoidable that participants will receive only limited information (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), there was a possibility of not providing students with any information at all. As I explained earlier in section 3.3.2., I strategically had to present an alternative description of peace education to the one that I consider has the best theoretical basis. This action had been proposed by some teachers as I began to prepare my fieldwork. In addition, since

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it was likely that teachers would take the role of gatekeepers, they might compel students to participate in the research. However, I asked the teachers to inform the students that I was a researcher and that I would need to stay in their classes for a while. The research began with my being introduced to the students and obtaining consent forms from them at the outset. Although everything depends on how the students took it, introducing myself truthfully as a researcher was efficacious because some students showed a kind of interest or rather curiosity in my work in their classroom. Two students had special needs and I asked the special education teacher and the form tutor for their agreement and signatures. In addition, when interviewing respondents, I told them about the purpose and procedure of the interviews and their right to withdraw if they felt unwilling to proceed with it at any stage. Then I asked them to read through the consent form and sign if they wished to do so. Last, in the questionnaire, I inserted a note of consent to be signed by students who agreed to tell me about what they were thinking. The consent form and the questionnaire, translated into English, are shown in the Appendices.

Second, no matter how hard it is to make a clear-cut distinction between public and private information, I as an ethnographic researcher had to consider the issue of privacy. In their interviews, some students shared their life stories or talked about other students in their absence. While this arguably shows a well-developed rapport between me and the participants during the fieldwork period, no matter how information-rich they were, such data were not used in this research because the respondents, the students in particular, had given it to me in confidence.

Third, researchers should be concerned about the harmful consequences of publishing ethnographic accounts. Moreover, they should also be cautious about participants' emotions such as stress or anxiety. This is especially important to students who are disadvantaged in school. Fortunately, in the present research, the students told me that they had enjoyed being interviewed and talking about their thoughts because they rarely had opportunities of this kind. By contrast, two teachers who were interviewed showed signs of discomfort. In these cases, I did not insist on their answering all the questions but ended early so the teachers could return to their work.

Last, since ethnographic studies rely on being allowed into a certain setting, it is necessary to expect refusal from some research participants. For example, the gatekeeper of a research site, having seen in the first semester what it involves, may refuse access thereafter. Luckily, this did not happen in the present study. However, there were some interruptions to the research process – I had to stop working with Minsuk, for instance, because he was moving to another school. It was not a refusal on his part, but I needed to stop the process for a while. However, as soon as the research had settled down in S high school, I faced almost no obstacles or problems of refusal.

Taking all these ethical concerns into account, this research kept to the basic ethical rules such as the anonymity of participants and so on. All of the names used in this research are false and the process and the data were all shared only with Bongsu, the key informant of this research.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, the methodologies and methods used for this research were set out, as well as background information on the research field and participants. In addition, the planning and the process of entering the field, data collection, analysis and validity of the data were illustrated. Also, some post hoc reflections on the research process were conveyed. Lastly, relevant ethical issues were discussed.

Applying *critical ethnography* and *case studies* as methods of this research, I conducted observations and interviews and administered qualitative questionnaires, including the draw-and-tell method, as main methods in S high school, the main site of this research and in D middle school, Y girls' high school and last in G high school for triangulation. In addition, I analysed students' letters of self-introduction, planning notes and official documents, photographs of the schools and textbooks.

The use of critical ethnography and case studies for this research was considered appropriate because my intention was to understand the culture of violence infused in schools by looking at the interactions among pupils and students on a daily basis and exploring how the cultures of participants conflict, explicitly and implicitly, generating a presumed culture of violence. Moreover, critical ethnography shares some common assumptions with the theories of symbolic violence and peace education which form the theoretical framework of my research.

All of the data gathered followed the process of reconstructive analysis, beginning with a thematic coding approach. Then I used low-level coding and high-level coding. Four ethical issues: informed consent, privacy, harm and consequences for future research were considered in the general process of the research.

Data gained through the whole process demonstrated in this chapter were analysed and discussed under the theoretical frames already discussed – that is, symbolic violence and peace education – in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS: ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to qualitatively analyse the findings of my ethnographic research. In this analysis, the data collected for this research were analysed through methods explained in the previous chapter, within the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 2. As outlined in more detail in the previous chapter, the analysis started by thematically coding the material in order to find the descriptive elements throughout the field notes. Through this process, I made my *first code categorization;* it was used to formulate the interview questions accommodating both my original research questions and the chosen context. After the analysis, I considered all the data – fieldnotes, interviews, questionnaires and supplementary data – and applied low-level coding to describe my data accurately but less abstractly. Then I incorporated high-level coding, which led me toward the writing stage, focusing on the embodied meanings and secondary concepts of the recorded interactions. In this coding process, I linked the data to the theory in my theoretical framework.

The four parts of this chapter are: first, *some selected cultural elements of everyday school life*; second, *symbolized and institutionalized violence* (together focusing on students' lives); third, *authoritative school management and*

increasingly atypical employment (looking into teachers' experiences). The fourth part of this chapter explores the possible ways suggested by the data of changing the culture of violence embedded in schools: *How to change this culture of violence to peace: possibilities of peace education?*

Section 4.2 falls into five sub-sections – the internalized culture of resistance and conformity, symbolized helplessness: playing with mobile phones, sleeping and applying make-up in class, studying but without interest in controversial issues and an internalized culture of dealing. Section 4.3 is divided into three sub-sections: mechanisms of control and indoctrination; examinations and penalty points; abusive and extremely violent language used in everyday life; internalized intolerance to differences; explicit school violence and delinquent/deviant behaviour: in and beyond the school boundaries.

In order to synthesize the ethnographic findings, the concluding section will discuss the interrelationship of these findings and the way in which a culture of violence is created and perpetuated in schools. This discussion links this chapter to the next (Chapter 5), where the analysed data are compared with the theoretical framework.

4.2 Cultural elements of school daily lives

There are 30 different individuals, more or less, in each classroom. Teachers, from their experience tend to implicitly divide students into three groups: trouble-

makers or maladjusted students, excellent students (ca. 10%) and those who are well-meaning but not excellent (interview, 20121127_6&7). Likewise, students see their classmates as stratified – high, mid, low – by power relations (interview, 20120614_KimMinKyung). This stratification ranks symbolic power or academic achievement. These two factors have the most influence on students' daily lives and these categorizations are crucial in generating their culture. Below is a categorization of students in S high school who participated in the interviews. This division was made in the second analysis of the interview data in August 2013, based both on my observations and on hints from teachers' interviews. The criteria were academic achievement, the location of students' seats and their self-categorizations conveyed in interviews.

1) *Well-meaning but not excellent students (in the middle)*: Lee Gangjoo, Minkyung Kim, Gil Eunhye, Kim Jonghyun, Moon Jiwoo, Oh Gaeun, Gae Nari, Kang Saekyung, Lee Gyuwhan, Shin Hyesun, Kim Bomi, Kim Dami, An Jihyun

2) *Excellent students (10%)*: Kim Mingi, Oh Saeil, Nam Gyungmin, Song Hagyung, Kim Dongsuk

3) *Trouble-makers, maladjusted students (Those who cannot get along in school and those with their own sub-culture)*: Kim Herim, Go Namsoon, Choi Sumi, Lee Hyesung, Choi Minjoo, Lee Yoonji, Lee Dayoon, Lee Jihoon, Byun Giduck, Oh Jungho, Lee Igyung, Kim Jia, Yeo Heebong, Park Sohee, Park Heungsoo

In order to explain the cultural elements of school life, I next divide these elements in alignment with five themes. The first theme deals with *internalized cultures of resistance and conformity,* in that these cultures permeate the classroom overall. The second theme is *symbolized helplessness: playing with mobile phones, sleeping and applying make-up in class hours*. This theme was chosen to evoke specific behaviour in class and a student culture based on an internalized culture of resistance and conformity mentioned in the previous

section. Then, *studying but without interest in controversial issues* is illustrated as the third theme of this section. This theme conveys how the value of studying is unconsciously imposed on students and how students are forced to avoid thinking critically in school. Last, *the internalized culture of dealing* is introduced. Lexically, 'dealing' means doing business and trading, usually money for products (Oxford Advanced Learners' English-Korean Dictionary, 2008). The term 'dealing' seems somehow appropriate because of certain phenomena among students: doing things (for teachers) in order to get more grades and so on. In this respect, 'dealing,' a term that I coined as the fieldwork progressed, revealed an important sub-cultural element among students. It is meant to show how students learn and bequeath a culture based on self-interest.

4.2.1 Internalized cultures of resistance and conformity

A good student in class is expected to behave as told (by a teacher), study well, wear uniform neatly, have a standard hairstyle – short and tidy – and have good peer relations. By contrast, a bad or misbehaving student is disobedient, has poor academic results, appears untidy, with permed or dyed hair and unfavourable peer relationships. The standard styles of uniform (e.g. designated length of skirt, size of jacket, etc.), hair-style (length and colour) and so on, are all symbolized standards distinguishing good from bad students. This kind of stereotyping was reflected in my respondents and based on my observations in all classrooms. Usually, trouble-makers are considered bad students, whereas both excellent and

well-meaning, but not excellent, students are regarded as good students. This is not always true but it is an easy categorization independent (in principle) of socio-economic class, gender and so forth. Both good and bad students stay in classrooms for at least 8 hours a day.

Two cultural dynamics co-exist in every observed classroom: *resistance* and *conformity*. These two may conflict with each other but sometimes simply pass each other by. Generally, good students are adaptive and manageable while bad students are rebellious and self-willed. Like the concept of *counter-school culture* (Willis, 1977), the cultural dynamics described here as 'resistant' do not imply a resistance to school culture, but an autonomous school sub-culture. In other words, resistance is not so much anti-norm as conforming to its own norm and perpetuating the image of the resisters as members of a particular sub-culture. Resistance in this context is the face presented to students and teachers of the behaviours and attitudes of the class trouble-makers. Trouble-makers habitually say 'no' to teachers and try not to follow their instructions. In other words, they unconsciously resist what teachers ask them to do and instead form their own rules to conform. Because they resist, schools categorize them as bad, misbehaving and/or delinquent.

As soon as class starts, resistance and conformity can be observed at the same time. Simply put, resistance is understood as an act of rejecting teacher-prescribed norms while conformity is an attitude of accepting them as faultless. In this sense, resistance is a key cultural element among trouble-makers and conformity is an important cultural element among good students. Once a lesson starts, students are expected to stay still and concentrate on what teachers say –

writing down their spoken or written words and underlining the important content in the textbooks chosen by teachers. Good students prefer to sit at the front of the classroom, closer to teachers, so as to hear what the teachers say without effort.

In contrast, trouble-makers, namely, 'naughty' boys and girls, sit at the back of the room. Even if their form tutor designates places for them, they change their seats at other class times. A seat at the back is crucial for any plan of alternative action in class.

Kwon (researcher): Right! [Laughter] Don't you usually sit in front? Yes, but you've moved to the back these days, no?

Mingi: Oh, those seats. I always used to sit in front … when you came I had been transferred to the front, from the time you arrived. So I sat there at first but now my seat has changed, so I'm at the back…

Kwon: I see. I thought the seats had been changed but those who sat at the back are still there, so I wondered.

Mingi: Ah, well, they just changed their seat … (interview_20120605_KimMingi)

Gyuwhan and Igyung changed seats. Igyung sat right behind Giduck. Jungho was playing and suddenly asked Hyegyung to exchange seats. But Hyegyung, with a sour expression, did not move. Jungho in despair used the naughty and desperate expression 'Oh, fuck!' and told Giduck, 'Ah, she won't change seats!' So Jungho stayed in his original place in front of Dayoon. Then Giduck advised Jungho, 'Threaten her with a knife'. Of course, he meant it as a joke, but Jungho was holding a small cutter. Jungho replied, 'I am not that kind of evil bastard!' (fieldnote_20120530)

The choice of seats shows different groupings in class and represents students' intentions to participate in or reject the lesson. In this context,

participation means behaving well in class. Likewise, the form tutor of form 7 in S high school organized seats according to the groupings mentioned above.

Kwon: Students in class 7 seem to be divided very explicitly. Even though I don't know much about students, I was able to see that the good students are all at the front.

Yuna: Yes. If I mix students and allow them to sit anywhere they want, those who would like to study cannot because of the others and those who would like to study cannot say 'Be quiet' to the naughty ones. So I made those who'd rather sit at the front sit there. Those who have the will to study sit there and those who refuse to study sit at the back. I line them up. That's why it is explicit in our classroom. And my students are generally docile. So the trouble-makers are more conspicuous. (interview_20121127_6&7)

Visible resistance, then, usually, appears at the back of the room. Doing other things, not looking at the textbook or listening to the teacher is not appropriate student behaviour. Teachers point out misbehaviour and tell students to study. But the trouble-makers do not take this seriously and defy their teachers.

After 19 minutes, Bongsu said, 'If you make any noise after this, I will give you minus points.' Having watched a video-clip, Bongsu started the lesson by going through the textbook. Sumi and Minjoo kept talking. Finally Bongsu gave them minus points. Then he said, 'You guys are full of minus points. From now, you'll get penalty points.' They ultimately got penalty points. Minjoo complained, making the excuse, 'I just gave her a comb.' Bongsu replied, 'You guys know why you've got penalty points.' Sumi immediately said, 'Oh, teacher, please forgive me this once! , You, Minjoo! Don't talk to me'. But when Bongsu insisted on the penalty point, she slumped over the desk

and said, 'Right! I'm going to sleep!' Then she stood up again, 'Oh, I won't study, I will sue the teacher for giving me a penalty point!' She said it in fun. But she didn't stop talking. She did not even open her books. I watched her in amazement. (fieldnote_20120424)

"Igyung! Come to the front!' Giduck answered, 'We weren't making a noise!' But they did talk loudly, too loudly. 'If you guys talk again, I will give Giduck a penalty point and a minus point to Igyung', said Bongsu. He distributed the printed sheets and told the students to solve the problems on them and prepared a video clip. About 10 students were solving problems as instructed. As he prepared the clip, Bongsu may have felt that he could no longer stand Giduck.

'Giduck, come to the front!'

'No, I can't!'

'If you don't, you will get a penalty point.'

'Go ahead!'

'I didn't record your last penalty points.'

'Put them on your records!'

'Giduck, you are not afraid of penalty points, are you?

'No, what I am scared of is 000. Ah, just impose the penalty point quickly … '

The conversation went on … (fieldnote, 20120516)

As he taught, Bongsu pointed at some students at the back, 'Now, you guys at the back! Take off your headphones and make-up. You guys are going too far!' Sohee looks at Bongsu but doesn't stop and keeps putting BB cream on her face. Finally, Bongsu takes Jia's headphone away. Jia starts to whine, 'Oh, teacher, I won't listen again!' Jungyun puts her legs over the desk. Bongsu scolds her, 'Put your legs down. You should not behave like that!' Jungyun says, 'okay', offhandedly. Bongsu points at

Jungyun again, saying, 'Put your legs down! Jungyun, how can you behave like that in class?' Jungyun repeats, 'okay', but very half-heartedly and she does not seem to be very bothered by Bongsu … Jungyun wraps her in a blanket and starts playing a mobile game. Jia and Jungyun start to talk about the mobile, *very* loudly! Jungyun suddenly says 'Oh, damn it! My battery's low!' Finally, Bongsu gives Jungyun a penalty point; she starts to whine. 'Please don't give me a penalty point!' over and over again. 'Teacher, I will sit straight. I will put my legs down. I will look at you. Heebong, wake up! (she pointlessly wakes up a friend in front of her who was sleeping) Don't give me a penalty point!' Heebong interjects, 'Oh, drat you!' Jungyun keeps whining but Bongsu awards the penalty point. Then Jungyun shouts, 'Ssibal (fuck)'. Bongsu may have thought he should no longer tolerate this, so he gives an extra penalty point, 'Double Ssibal!' The students laugh. Bongsu says, 'You must have understood when I said that much!' Jungyun turns on Bongsu angrily, 'I told you I would put my legs down!' (fieldnote_20120518)

Being aggressive to teachers is fun for those students. However, good students criticize their actions as pointless and impolite. Good students believe that being aggressive to teachers is childish and judge that it is not how students should behave.

Kwon: Okay, what does 'loser' mean, when you call friends losers?

Nari: Well … if teacher scolds us … losers do not take the verdict seriously but fight them and think they are high-handed.

Kwon: Teachers?

Nari: Yes….

Gaeun: I think the definition of loser in high school is a bit different from middle school.

Kwon: Really? How?

Gaeun: Well, in middle school, we are young and childish. So we think losers are those who only study and care nothing for friends … but now we think that losers are those who show off in class … there are many immature students, even in high school. Those who think the class is their world, like when we were elementary students.

Kwon: How do they behave in class, for example?

Gaeun: Haha, well, they behave as they want … well, we ought to be polite to teachers, right? Then they [students] should at least conform, but when they feel bad they just do whatever they want.

Nari: They just insist on having their own way.

Gaeun: There are a lot of students who behave like that.

Kwon: I see.

Gaeun: [In middle school], we thought we should not mess with them, because they are quite scary. But now … when I see them … I think about … what will they do when we graduate?

Nari: I think they are stupid. (interview_20120613_OhGaeunGaeNari)

While the trouble-makers occupy all the back seats, the excellent students take their seats at the very front of the class. In between them sit the well-meaning but not excellent pupils. Invariably, all the students at the very front are busy writing down what the teachers say and marking the important content with lines and stars to show what is very likely to be in the examination. The middle students mostly behave like excellent students, but not always. They also do other things but not as explicitly as the trouble-makers. They are afraid of being punished for misbehaviour and they know that what they do in class is not always good enough.

The good students *adapt* to what society and school requires of them: behaving and thinking like ideal school students. They try hard to stay awake in class even if they have been studying very late. They would not feel right if they slept at night and in school as well, though studying until late is often made an excuse for sleeping in class. But these intentions clash – they sleep in class when they are too tired to stay awake but at the same time, they do not feel right and are a little afraid of being punished. They may feel conflicted about this situation, but they know that in South Korea they must do this to this to survive.

Kwon: … I don't think I saw you sleep … during the Korean history class. But you may have talked with your friends, used mobiles … did you ever mean to sleep or use your mobile because you really don't like the class?

Eunhye: Of course!

Kwon: Really?

Eunhye: Yes, sleeping …

Kwon: Do you sleep? In which class, for example?

Eunhye: For example, if I stayed up until 3 in the morning, I would be overtired … so I just think, 'oh… whatever…' and drop off.

Kwon: Really? You don't try to fight it?

Eunhye: No. If I feel sleepy, I can't concentrate on what teachers say and can't even recognize what I have written in the text book.

Kwon: So, you sleep and copy the notes later?

Eunhye: Yes.

Kwon: So, if you slump over the desk and sleep, that is when you are very tired.

Jung: Yes

Kwon: It does not mean that you don't like that class … So, when you stay awake at night, what are you doing?

Eunhye: Soon there will be final exams.

Kwon: I see. So you prepare for tests?

Eunhye: Yes. I was memorizing the English text last night.

Kwon: Wow, don't you feel tired? Are you okay?

Eunhye: I feel tired, but … in order to survive in the Republic of Korea … I need to get better exam results … (interview_20120619_GilEunhye)

Good students accept the social requirements – to study hard and be polite to teachers. They may complain to friends about teachers and classes but they would not resist custom and regulations. Thus, conformity to accepted norms is a critical cultural distinction among good students. Trouble-makers, in contrast, *resist* what society and school ask high school students to offer. Trouble-makers also abide by norms, but those norms counter the school's culture, as explained above. Students thus form two different cultures in class, with the third between them showing a mixture of the two. The pro-school and counter-school cultures contradict each other, but it is clear that they both represent aspects of today's school culture.

4.2.2 Symbolized helplessness: playing with mobile phone, sleeping and applying make-up in class

This is what the students in class 6 are doing: putting mirrors on the desk, slumping over and sleeping, chatting, playing mobile games, surfing the internet on mobiles. Well, apart from the mobile phones, nothing has changed since I was in high school (fieldnote_20120313)

31 minutes in, the whole of class 8 is: making up/playing mobile games/listening to music/sleeping and sitting vacantly/or listening to teachers (fieldnote_20120320)

Helplessness means a state of powerlessness, passivity which lacks the will to do something productive. I gave listed several behaviours in this category because many teachers nowadays categorise students in this way. They illustrate its meaning by several common behaviours. Mobile phone use is an extremely critical and serious problem, in the teachers' eyes.

Nanhee: I don't mind about making up in class, because this is the age when girls are very interested in make-up. So I'm not bothered about those problems. … But I think using mobiles is a problem. With make-up, they spend a few minutes on it and that's that. It doesn't interfere with the class, but with mobiles, they play games and search for more games … I think they use mobiles to kill time. So I try to discipline them and try to make them stop. I don't mind about students who take no part in the class; If they do music, I don't mind them listening to it. And if they do art, I don't care if they draw cartoons or whatever, … But playing with mobile phones does kill their time. So I try to restrain them. Interestingly, however, when they stop doing mobile phones, they fall asleep (laughs). Sleep and talk a bit. So I can't make up my mind about the use of

mobile phones. Sometimes, I even wish that the state would put out some official regulation about using mobile phones in schools. (interview_20121127_YooNanhee)

Seoyoung: I think the use of mobile phones and wearing the correct uniform are different. Above all, the use of mobiles ... it would be different how I approach this matter, but when students use mobiles they ... boys usually play games and girls usually do chatting with the katalk ... and texting ... and contacting friends in other schools and so on. The use of mobiles at that age is ... but I think the strongest reason is being discontented with their lives ... so they just do mobile phones ... That's how I see this problem.

Kwon: Being discontented?

Saeyoung: Yes. The use of mobiles lets them forget reality. And they get accustomed to building relationships with their peers and meeting their peers through machinery as they use mobiles in lessons and at break-times ... So I think problems are bound to come up (interview_20121121_Multiculture)

Likewise, when I first entered a classroom in D middle school in 2011, the students were concentrating on their mobile phones – playing games. They did not even notice the bell ringing. The students of S high school also used mobile phones a great deal. Surprisingly, or perhaps not, almost 90% of the students in class seem to be 'naughty' at some time according to the easy categorization made above. For students, mobile phones and earphones are 'must-have' items. With mobile phones, they can play games, talk with friends (with the kakao talk application[19]), listen to music, watch video clips or simply surf the internet. Students even take pictures in class. They do it for various reasons, but one of the

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[19] A messenger application in smart phones, free for those who can access the internet. People can send messages like text messages and can also chat with it. South Koreans call it 'katalk'.

main reasons is that they feel bored in class. But they know that using mobiles in class contravenes school regulations, and therefore use them secretly and use some dodges to remain undetected. For instance, they lower their heads and operate their mobile under the desk or set a book on the edge to hide the mobile. When they put on earphones to listen to music or watch a video clip, they bend over their desk and hide behind a blanket or use a special pillow to hide the leads.

40 minutes: Uchol has taken out his mobile, like Dayoon. ... 42 minutes, Nari and other girls are still chatting and have their shoes on. Uchol continues to fiddling with his mobile. ... 51 minutes, ... Giduck and Igyung take out the earphones and keep on talking and laughing. 53 minutes, Nari seems to be falling asleep but she stands up again and puts on earphones and then slumps over again ... What do the mobile phones mean to children? (fieldnote_20120322)

Gyungwoo had already put on earphones before the lesson started and seems to ready to play games ... 45 minutes, the whole class is very disorderly. Bongsu is preparing to watch a video clip. Surprisingly, Hyesung is talking on the phone. Sumi, in order to tease Bongsu, repeats five times 'Teacher, Hyesung is talking on the phone!' in a loud voice ... Hyesung keeps talking on the phone and Sumi keeps saying 'Hyesung, please play with me and stop talking on the phone!' ... (fieldnote_20120327)

Kwon: I know you guys do mobile phones a lot. What are you guys up to with them?

Gaeun: kakao talk, Cyworld...

Nari: Our friends in class ...

Gaeun: And they take pictures. If I do something, they will suddenly take a picture with the silent ringer camera. And the next minute the captured photo is showing on kakao talk ...

Nari: Capture!   (laughs)

All: (laugh)....

Kwon: What if the teacher catches you?

Nari: It's a silent camera, so we don't get caught!

Kwon: …. Do you do group chat when you use kakao talk?

…

All: Yeah

Kwon: I saw a thing in the paper the other day that if you don't do kakao talk chat, high school students can be bullied …. Is this true?

Gaeun: Well, if we use kakao talk, we don't need to pay and many students use smart phones, so they all use katalk. We share a lot and talk a lot through katalk. So if we don't do this, we feel isolated … (interview_20120613_OhGaeunGaeNari)

Kwon: I see. Then what do you usually do with mobiles in class?

Jonghyun: In class?

Kwon: Yes. You do it over and over … don't you?

Jonghyun: Well, I watch movies from time to time.

Kwon: Movies?

Jonghyun: Yes. I love movies. So my computer at home is full of movies … I download all movies and encode them to my mobiles and watch them. I do texting and play games sometimes. That's all.

Kwon: Okay, I can understand why you'd use mobiles in the Korean history class, 'cos it is very boring.

Jonghyun: hahahaha

Kwon: Are there any other classes you do mobiles in?

Jonghyun: Well, yes. Classes that I don't like.

Kwon: What if you get caught when you're watching a movie?

Jonghyun: Well, I am quite good at it. I have my own ways.

Kwon: Really? But if you watched a movie, you would need to put on earphones, right?

Jonhyun: Yes. Well, I feel the cold easily, so I wear this even now. And I take a small folded blanket with me all the time. I put it beside my pencil case. My mobile phone is this big, so it can be hidden behind the blanket. So if I open the book and lean over a bit, it looks like I am studying. I don't get caught.

Kwon: how do you listen to the sound, then?

Jonghyun: I don't listen. I read the subtitles. And if I only focus on the movies, I could get caught. So I raise my head from time to time.

Kwon: Wow, you are very skilful!

Jonghyun: I've been doing it since middle school. (interview_20120620_KimJonghyun)

Girls, in particular naughty girls at the back, enjoy making themselves up in class. Once a teacher starts the lesson, the girls at the back arrange their make-up items on the desk. A mirror, eye-shadow, lip gloss, nail-polish and hair-brush are the basics. Some of them bring curling irons to school to do their hair at break. Unlike mobile phones, makeup does not make them feel guilty or ashamed but both break school rules. Interestingly, the first class in the morning, the 4th class just before lunch and the last class in the afternoon are the busiest times for making up.

Kwon: So you guys make up in order to look better?

Sumi: No.

Kwon: No? Then why do you do it?

Sumi: I feel ashamed without anything on my face

Kwon: What? You feel ashamed when you're un-made up? How old are you? (laughs)

Sumi: You won't believe it, but I look horrible without make-up. I would like to have chemical peeling.

...

Kwon: ... So, you guys do make-up just to look beautiful, right? [all: nod and laugh] But you do it often in class, don't you?

Minjoo: Refreshing it!

Kwon: Why? Is it because you are not satisfied with your make-up?

Yoonji: Not really....

Kwon: In this school, you don't get caught even if you do make-up. Right? But is there any teacher who at least scolds you guys or something?

Minjoo: I don't think there is.

Sumi: No, there's no-one.

Kwon: So you guys feel free to do it?

All: laugh and nod

Kwon: Well, you guys do make-up in class and also during the break. So your daily plan is doing make-up -?

Minjoo: We also do make up after school. Begin the day with make-up and finish the day with make-up...

Kwon: ... So you guys do it in the first class of the day, lunch-time and home-time ... is that right?

Hyesung: Well, we come to school with a naked face.

Sumi: I put foundation on! I have to. I think I'm addicted to do it. Don't you guys think so? (interview_20120619_ChoiSumietc)

Unlike mobile phones, make-up raises controversy among students. Those who wear it think that it is fun and claim that they must use make-up because they do not look good without it. To illustrate, Sumi says that she looks 'horrible' even when she wears make-up and Dami says that she is addicted to tints for her lips. However, boys hate the smell of make-up and say they think they are in the beauty academy classes. Some good girls say they cannot understand why students use make-up and they think those naughty girls are doing too much in class and disrupting their study.

If the naughty students are too tired to do anything, even playing with mobile phones and applying make-up, they simply sleep in class time.

At about eight-thirty, ….Bongsu says, "Look at the textbook. Textbook will feel sorry if you don't look at it!' Students look blank. Only a very few students (about 4 -5) are sleeping. Given that this is quite early, it's surprising. Students near the back door of the class have almost empty desks, but they bend over the pillow covered by the text.

2 minutes later, 3 more students have drifted into sleep.

About five minutes later, two more fall asleep. But I think that it's surprising to see students who are listening to the teacher covering a tremendous amount of information from early morning. At the same time, the overall atmosphere of the class expresses utter helplessness.

One more student drops off.

About five to nine, Bongsu distributes new prints, saying to the sleepers, 'Hey you! Wake up!' Finally, he shouts 'Time to get up, everybody!' (fieldnote_20120316)

There are two key reasons for sleeping in class. One is that 'they just feel bored' and the other is that 'they are too tired'. Teachers must officially wake them up but students will still sleep unless teachers threaten punishment. Even then they are not fully awake, but at least remain seated. Some teachers leave them to sleep, in any case. However, teachers think that sleeping students have given up on life and the right to learn – to study. That is, they think that sleeping students have no idea of putting their minds to learning something and to engaging in class activities.

Kwon: Now, you're a form tutor but, at the same time, you are a specialist teacher. As you said earlier, students do vary – those who sleep and those who concentrate in class. How do you manage your classes?

Yuna: Frankly, I do wake them up. I do it once or twice officially, but if they don't wake up, I don't spend time disputing with them. It is important to wake them up and make them study but it is also important to lead the rest of the students who choose to study. In any case, I have only 50 minutes and have a certain amount of content to cover within that time. In this case, I think my focus should be on those who participate in my class. It harms the other students if I waste my time disputing and wasting my emotions on those who insist on not joining in and say that studying is not important. That's why I officially wake them up and if they don't, I consider this their choice – that is, they've given up their right to learn. And I just proceed with teaching. And actually most students dislike teachers spending their time on waking students up and fighting with them. The underlying feeling in most students is "Leave naughty students behind and let's get on with the class". Of course, educationally, they all should be together but teachers and students all know that this is unrealistic.

Samjae: I think ... well, this school is an academic high school. So there is a gap in

class. Like I said earlier, 95% of students in class have difficulty in following the current curriculum. Students at primary level or middle school level have difficulty in following and understanding teachers' explanations, because they don't have the basics. It is odd to say that teachers should lead everyone in a class. They don't have any idea or thought even when their eyes are open. So I think it is quite inefficient. But all teachers have their own approach. So, in my case, I let unwilling students read any other books they choose and put a bookshelf in our class. But some teachers do not let students do other things – including reading other book – while others let them read. (interview_20121121_6&7)

In addition, some students said that learning the pre-requisites in the private institutions causes students to sleep in class because they know the content already. This is applicable to some good students who also sleep in class. The difference between good and bad students is that bad students automatically prepare to fall asleep, while good students at first restrain themselves. Good students fall asleep when they cannot stay awake any longer.

Last, students who have no interest in playing with mobile phones, applying make-up and falling asleep, often seem to be in a daze. They do not look at the textbook, nor listen to the teacher. They do nothing. They sometimes look out of the window, with their minds elsewhere.

All of these daily activities in class are classified as *helplessness* because the students are putting in too little effort to study as hard as they should. Symbolically, these behaviours represent their resistance to teachers and to schools. However, they engage in it as if habitually. In other words, helplessness among students is routinized.

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Samjae: In class 7, there are some enthusiastic students. So they lead the class towards study while those trouble-makers at the back are very individualistic. Right?

Yuna: Yes, They [trouble-makers] are individualistic and very helpless. They don't have any plan of drawing attention to themselves by unpredictable behaviours but they don't get involved. But when teachers accuse them of nonparticipation, they greatly resent it. So if teachers just ignore them, there's no problem. If a teacher tries to make them join in with the class, they react, but without that they simply sit there. Very helpless. (interview_20121121_6&7)

4.2.3 Study but no interest in controversial issues: dehumanizing learning

Studying is a primary role for students, as the saying goes. As discussed in the previous chapter, South Korean students are famous for being hard-working. Accordingly, S high school students spend 8 hours a day in school, assumed to be spent on studying in class. Moreover, students need to absorb substantial amounts of knowledge. For example, Korean history is learned in the first semester of the first year only, in order to free the time for more important subjects later – mainstream subjects such as English, Maths and Korean[20]. Thus, students in classes 6, 7 and 8 in S high school had had one semester to study the whole of the Korean history textbook from ancient times to contemporary times.

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[20] The *focus-learning policy:* introduced from 2011 in order to improve students' concentration on the study of certain subjects. Subjects were clustered – sociology (sociology, moral studies, Korean history), science, (science, technology, home economics), arts (art, music). Each school can choose any subjects in those clusters and provide lessons on those subjects alone during the designated period of time. For example, the first graders in classes 6, 7, 8 in S high school learn Korean history in the first semester only and social studies in the second semester. This plan lets students focus more on mainstream subjects – Mathematics, Korean language and English.

Dongsuk: Frankly speaking, Bongsu's class is really too boring.

Kwon: Do you think so? Don't you think it's because the content has to be covered so quickly?

Dongsuk: Yes, I think so. It is too hard to keep up.

Kwon: I understand. It's too much to cover a whole textbook in one semester.

Dongsuk: You are right. I think our policy is wrong. We should learn things one by one; it is not always good to learn fast. (I agree!) It makes us exhausted. This is child abuse! (interview_20120608_KimDongsuk)

While students spend too much time and energy on memorizing large blocks of knowledge, they are not taught to think critically about what they learn or about current social problems.

Bongsu, who is critical and considered a progressive teacher in S high school, tries to hold critical historical discussions and to debate unjust international relations, current social issues, such as parliamentary elections, students' right to vote and school diversification policies; but the students seem to lack interest.

Bongsu talks about the nobles and commoners to help students understand. Next he speaks about international schools and specialized schools but his students' minds are elsewhere. Of course, there may be some students who are interested but most of them seem to be indifferent. (fieldnote_2012-03-15)

While he was talking about warfare, Bongsu suddenly asked 'What will you do if war

breaks out? Will you escape to the US?' Jungho answers, 'I will jump into the sea and die!' and Giduck, 'I will become a turtle ship.' They try to make fun of Bongsu. Bongsu stops and resumes his lesson: 'Draw a circle around General Lee, draw a line ...' (fieldnote_2012-04-05)

Loud sounds of electioneering come from the street. Bongsu says, 'Next week, there will be an election!' Suddenly one of the boys who were always quiet says, 'Wow, we don't go to school!' Bongsu continues to talk about the election and tells students that there was a movement to give high school students the vote. Then Uchol responds negatively, 'Well, anyway, we couldn't!' (fieldnote_2012-04-05)

After a clip, Bongsu talks about economic rights and the recent issue of major supermarkets selling off cheap chicken. No response from the students. Bongsu asks 'Aren't you curious?' Sohee replies, 'No, I don't care if they do. It's not my business.' (fieldnote_2012-05-18)

Almost every student considers the controversial issues to be political and therefore, unnecessary to reflect on, because these issues are none of their business. They also think that the knowledge that comes out of textbooks is irrelevant to contemporary issues, which have nothing to do with examinations. Many students feel discomfort when Bongsu starts to talk about political news or historical issues.

Kwon: Okay, you said earlier that you are interested in science and social studies. For example, what did you think of Bongsu's talk about political issues? He talked about recent events as well as the past.

Gyungmin: I found it interesting when he talks about the past. He jokes about it, so it's fun. But when he tells us that our policy is wrong and so on, I just don't want to listen to it. Just, I don't like to listen to political comment.

Kwon: Is there any reason for that?

Gyungmin: Well, I think many of us would think the same. We have a lot of complaints. Not politics [in general], but about education policies. We have a lot of complaints about our education system. So when we hear talk about politics, we say 'Why did that person take that money? … bla bla bla…' We just get annoyed.

Kwon: So you don't like Bongsu to talk about your complaints?

Gyungmin: No. But when he gets jokey, we can sneer at the news and accept the stories. Making mock of politicians, that's okay. But when he criticizes the law … the law is contradictory … and so on, I don't understand why we have to listen to that criticism. We just get annoyed.

Kwon: I see. So when teachers talk about politics, you just don't want to participate…

Gyungmin: No, I just don't like it. (interview_20120613_NamGyungmin)

Pupils are not accustomed to listen and think about controversial or political issues in class. Unless they relate to the knowledge required for examinations, they are not welcomed by pupils. Controversial issues are usually considered irrelevant. Even those who showed a little interest in Bongsu's stories said they considered Bongsu's 'political storytelling' simply on a par with TV news presentation.

Eunhye: … because there aren't many interesting stories in our textbook … I like watching clips. It is okay to listen to political stories sometimes because I don't watch the news.

Kwon: I see. So you think it's as if Bongsu is a news announcer and tells stories …

Eunhye: Yes (laughs)

Kwon: So you haven't thought like, 'why does he talk about that?'

Eunhye: No. Well, he still covers the prescribed content …

Kwon: Oh, I see. So if he cannot cover it, you might get annoyed but if he can, it doesn't matter whether he talks about politics or not … Is that what you mean?

Eunhye: Yes. There are some teachers who talk about other things but can't cover the prescribed content. Teachers like that suddenly go through everything on the last day. I hate that. But in Bongsu's case, he tells political and other stories in between the lesson, so it is okay. (interview_20120619_GilEunhye)

Looking at these accounts, one is tempted to argue that students are taught to avoid current reality. Students are taught to be passive and uncritical in absorbing knowledge. Being passive in the learning process makes students merely note down what teachers say. In spite of their earlier school experience of doing group work, most students in high school prefer to study individually. Some students prefer group work, while still worrying about the trouble-makers who refuse to cooperate but still receive good grades. Avoiding controversial issues influences the learning and teaching process and finally causes impersonal and inhumane relations between students. Students worry about what benefits them alone rather than participating in a collaborative learning process and having discussions.

Kwon: You don't like to attend or join in discussion, do you? (No.) You prefer lectures and you like to follow the teachers' lead...

Bomi: Yes, just write down what they say...

Kwon: Is that more comfortable to you?

Bomi: Yes, definitely.

Kwon: .... Well, Bongsu sometime asks questions and wants students to participate. Don't you raise your hand to answer the question and participate?

Bomi: Sometimes when he says he will give us points. I'm obliged to do it. I don't have many friends in class so I am afraid of other friends who might think that I am too proactive. I think I am aware of the way other people are looking at me. I know no one cares, but...

Kwon: I see. You care about other people's opinions but you sometimes participate when you can earn points. But other than that, you won't participate actively. Right, you said that Bongsu suddenly interjects wise sayings and tells stories and you like that. What do you think about teachers talking about politics? Do you have any interest, or not?

Bomi: I find it interesting. I think I should read newspapers and so on but actually I don't read them. So it is good when he talks about the news. (interview_20120605_KimBomi)

Kwon: ... Did you take part in group activities in elementary and middle school? (Yes.) What kind of class do you prefer? Group activities or lectures?

Dami: Well, it is okay to do group activities in primary and middle school because we all cooperate well because we are all hard-working. Now, trouble-makers contribute nothing. But we cannot make up the groups as we would like. Only teachers make them. So sometimes if he or she has to do the work with trouble-makers a single good student does everything. That's not fair. Because it is a group activity, everyone gets the same score. That's really unfair. Trouble-makers do nothing while good students do everything, but all get the same score. And it is difficult to communicate with trouble-makers. They just talk and are noisy. So, I think group activity is not appropriate at high school level, even though it is okay at elementary and middle school level ... now, it is better to have lectures. (interview_20120608_KimDami)

The failure to train students and interest them in dealing with controversial issues and the concentration on absorbing too much unquestioned

knowledge so as to reach a certain level of achievement seem, in my view, to generate a *dehumanizing culture* in the classroom. That is to say, both students and teachers cannot critically engage in learning, for instance, questioning why this theory is thus, and how that knowledge explains our present situation. What they learn is not very closely related to their lives but they have to absorb so much information simply to live in this society. This way of studying leads students to think about themselves alone, in other words, to build selfish selves.

4.2.4 Internalized culture of dealing

The term 'deal', as commonly used, contains negative connotations. Lexically, dealing has to do with drugs and illegal money trading in order to make agreements and to earn profits (Collins, 2009). It may sound odd to use the term 'dealing' in a school environment, but it does form part of the school culture between pupils and between them and teachers in class. According to teachers, students these days tend to ask 'what do I get if I do as I'm told?' Teachers assess this phenomenon as a problem caused by the generation gap and believe that students these days are very individualistic because of the Western values imposed on them. Teachers think that students these days have too little common sense to say 'thank you' to teachers. They complain that students behave like infants and want teachers to do everything for them.

Hyunjoo: ... when I distribute Choco Pies, you know, a very small thing, (if students start to eat without saying anything) I tell everyone, 'Say '"thank you teacher!"' There are 2 or 3 students who know that they should say thank you but they are shy to say it in front of the others. I say, 'Say "thank you". Don't you think I might be hungry? Why don't you offer me a pie? Before you eat, let us all say, "Thank you, teacher! Bon appétit!" Then they can start eating.'

Isoo: I think what she is doing is right.

Hyunjoo: And if a student drops rubbish on the floor, I say "Whose hand is this, who's throwing trash about?" If I don't point out their behaviour, I feel very bad later ... because ... I think, as Isoo said, I didn't learn to behave like that and I don't behave like that. Because I have lived in a different style from students nowadays, I kind of expected students to behave like me, for instance to say "thank you, teacher" and so on. To my astonishment, cheeky students say, 'Why did you do this for him or her and didn't do anything for me? Or they say, 'Is this (what teachers give students) fair? Is this from Namdaemoon market? Not the department store?'

Kwon: Really? Do students really say that?

Isoo: There are some.

Hyunjoo: They know that they are educational consumers. They know it too well. (laughs) (interview_20120728_NamHyunjooSeoIsoo)

The reasons for such a consumerist culture will vary, yet, as I have noticed, students habitually think and behave in this way. Often, students want something from a teacher – a candy or an award point – simply for participating in class.

Bongsu started a nonsense game (5+5+5=555) to open the class. Surprisingly, a naughty girl – Hyesung – was very active in answering the question. 'I know, I know!'

She ran to the blackboard and gave the right answer. Bongsu seems to be a little embarrassed. Hyesung knew the question already. After she answered it, she said, 'Teacher, I got it! What will you give me?' Embarrassed, Bongsu said nothing. Hyesung complained, 'Why does he give me nothing?' And she went back to her seat. (fieldnote_20120320)

Bongsu asked, 'What rights do you have?' Jungyun said, 'The right to vote!' Bongsu said 'You are correct!' Then Jungyun goes, 'Teacher! Give me one plus point. Or reduce the penalty point!' Bongsu said he could not do that because Jungyun had answered without asking for the right to speak ... Later on, Bongsu told Jungyun that he would give her one more chance. Jungyun concentrated on Bongsu's explanation. Bonsu invented some wordplay in order to make Jungyun answer the question. Jungyun finally answered the question with some help from others. Bongsu gave her a plus point. Heebong complained, 'Oh, teacher, it is a bit weird to give her a point!' (fieldnote_20120518)

"Go through question number 2. Shall we do an O or X quiz?" Some students in front say "Yes" but Sohee cries 'No'. The rest of them keep quiet. Anyway, the quiz starts. Someone says, 'Give us something if we answer them right!' Bongsu says, 'I will give you candies!' Then Sohee gets up suddenly and participates actively. Shy and quiet good students rarely participate but those naughty ones do – Sohee, Jia and Minjae actively raise their hands even though they have no idea what the question is. (fieldnote_20120518)

As can be seen from the above, students rarely participate in presenting their opinions in class unless a teacher makes an announcement that students will be rewarded for doing so. Thus, in order to persuade them to participate in this exercise, Bongsu often says, 'I will give you candies if you answer this question'. It can be interpreted as a strategy for managing his class but he feels sad to think that students always want something and suppose that they do things such as presenting their opinions or answering questions *for* teachers. In this respect, it is reasonable from the students' perspective to ask for an extrinsically motivated reward, because they see themselves as answering *for* the teacher's benefit.

Dealing, as conceptualised in this section, may be necessary on some occasions, but it is noticeable that this kind of attitude was ubiquitous in the observed classes. Students now have the overarching idea that *'give and take'* is a rule or a norm in class. This idea is commonly accepted by students. From excellent students to trouble-makers, they all seem used to thinking and behaving on this basis. From their standpoint, it is not a negative phenomenon. Teachers think that rewarding students every time to bring about participation in class (including answering questions) is a problem and are very concerned about students' claiming rewards for their efforts. Teachers often compare their own experiences with the current phenomenon and say that students are infected with the social norms of 'give and take.'

The different views of the culture of 'dealing' cause conflicts between teachers and students, but, as the teachers correctly assume, students have learned how to 'deal with' the teachers in the classroom. It may have been learnt from their families, or from other communities, including schools themselves. Students are used from childhood to receiving rewards for their actions and they absorb this culture of dealing uncritically. This is why students automatically ask teachers, 'What will you give me if I do this?' Moreover, students do not enjoy engaging in cooperative activities; rather, they prefer to work singly and be evaluated individually. Good students are afraid of having to do everything for an unco-operative group and dislike sharing grades with bad students. Students cannot ask for an individual award if they work cooperatively but must share the same as the others. As high school students, most of the students interviewed resented any type of group activity because of its points-and-grades implications.

The dealing habit influences the relationship between teachers and students and it fosters a dehumanizing culture in the classroom. No student sees dealing in class with a teacher as a problem any longer. It is now rather a deeply internalized culture among students which many teachers hardly understand but nevertheless participate in. They also seem to have lost track of the intrinsic value of education – and take part in the dealing game with students, motivated by extrinsic rewards only.

In this section, I have presented five themes generated from my classroom observations and interviews. These five cultural elements have shown up most frequently in my fieldnotes and they were also the most conspicuous themes when students shared their stories. At this juncture, someone might observe that little of what I have illustrated so far shows any aspects particularly unique to South Korean school culture; themes of school disengagement and general personal disenfranchisement can be found in almost every industrialised country in the world, at least in some schools and some areas. In the following section, however, I identify themes which are more indicative of the specific symbolic violence inherent in South Korean society, as proposed in Chapter 2.

4.3 Symbolized and Institutionalized Violence

The cultural elements explored in the previous section represented students and teachers negotiating their experiences daily in school. In order to analyse how this culture grows and symbolises a culture of violence in schools, this section focuses

on looking at what mechanisms and social ideas are influenced and developed by students in the school culture. In this respect, I look more deeply at this country as it actually institutionalizes and symbolizes local cultures, thus generating conflicts in school and perpetuating violence.

In order to unpack the symbolized institutionalized violence in the relevant school culture, I have divided this section into four subsections. First, *mechanisms of control and indoctrination, examination and penalty points* are described. This section is critical because it describes the factors that predominantly influence both students' and teachers' school lives. Next, I focus on the use of language; hence, the second theme is *abusive and extremely violent language in everyday life*. The reason for illustrating and discussing this factor is that language is a representative symbol in our society, reflecting diverse elements and its use was conspicuous throughout the observation. The third theme is *internalized intolerance to differences*. This section is crucial, because it symbolizes society's treatment of differences and diversity and thus the way that all this is imposed on students' minds, forming a culture of routine intolerance. In addition, students are systematically pigeon-holed as being members of specific social categories marked by, say, gender, or disability. Finally, *explicit school violence and delinquent/deviant behaviour: in and outside school boundaries* is discussed. The overt school violence is becoming serious and it has been observed that it forms a critical aspect of school culture, both symbolically and institutionally. This section shows how students internalize themselves as being involved in overt school violence and/or escape from it or ignore it. All of these themes imply the symbolic and institutional formation of violence, generated and

reproduced in South Korean schools.

4.3.1 Mechanisms of control and indoctrination, examination and penalty points

One day, Bongsu told me that 'from the politicians' standpoint, school is a perfect place to imprison students and regulate or control them. Foucault said so, right?' He criticized some politicians for failing to understand the education situation, while I worried about students in hot classrooms without air conditioning!

When teachers and students enter schools in South Korea, they are imprisoned by a control mechanism in diverse ways. Teachers, whether they support the current punishment system or not, believe that they should control students through school regulations. Teachers typically mention 'basic rules' to observe. Basic rules, for instance, are no smoking in schools, neat uniforms, indoor shoes, no mobiles in class, name tags, no make-up, not dropping litter and so on. However, these rules confront the articles in the Students' Ordinance for Human Rights. For instance, while the Ordinance accepts that mobiles may be carried in school, S high school restricts their use and if students who use them are caught by teachers, their phones can be confiscated. In order to keep control under the regulations, teachers still stand before the school gate every morning to check the students' appearance and use penalty points to enforce discipline.

The blackboard in class 7 reads:

```
*On duty*                                                    * 23rd
March (Fri)

Number 5, 6                                          Sixth period
                                                  psychology test

*Cleaning                           Prepare a sign pen for computer

Group 3

*Wear uniform neatly! Be cautious!

- Wear indoor shoes (2 Penalty Points)

-Wear a jacket

*Take care of your belongings (Watch out for burglars)
```

(fieldnote_20120322)

It was 7: 58 when I arrived at the gate. Today, there were three teachers. There were also some students from a leading group. A teacher who was carrying a rod the other day also has it today. He also carried a file and wrote students' names in it. (fieldnote_20120621)

Two girls came to the office with Suchol. Suchol, as if he was a policeman, said, 'What did you guys do wrong?' They answered, 'We played with mobiles while the principal was giving us a talk.' Suchol asks, 'How can you stand like that while I'm talking? Go and put your trash in the bin! Do you admit your fault? How could you behave like that when the highest authority in the school is talking to you?'... The students are enjoying so much playing with the balloons decorated for Teachers' Day. Suchol goes out of the office and 'controls' them: 'Stop it! Let's go back to the classroom and

study. Those who are wearing outdoor shoes, if you don't change now, I will award penalty points!!' He stood in front of the office and made students return to the room. Still a few students are playing with balloons. Suchol scolds them: 'Study, guys!!' and takes two balloons away. When he came back to the office, he said, 'Oh, my! I couldn't prepare anything for the lesson because of students!!' (fieldnote_20120515)

Suchol: There are regulations in schools, right? In any school, I don't think anyone is allowed to apply make-up in class. There is a trend among students that make-up is such an important thing to do for 'style'. It is a bit difficult for me to accept, Am I conservative? Anyway, I can't accept making up. And regarding mobiles, I follow school regulations. So if students use one in my class, I confiscate it for two weeks and then if they do it again, I give them penalty points. This is a school regulation. That is … I think unless the regulations about mobile phones and make-up are revised, the three agents – students, parents and teachers – should follow the current regulation.

Kwon: I see. What I noticed particularly is about wearing indoor shoes in school. Many students wear outdoor shoes in school, but is this against school regulation?

Suchol: Yes. Wearing indoor shoes is a school regulation.

Kwon: But students do not follow …

Suchol: No, they don't wear them. I monitored some schools that allow students to wear outdoor shoes all day and found they brought in too much dust. When guests come to visit our school, they all say that our school is quite clean. This means that other schools are dirty and I think the main cause is wearing outdoor shoes inside. So, wherever a regulation exists, I will use every effort to discipline students to wear indoor shoe (laughs). (interview_20121127_inmoonhead)

Teachers use the term *control* but they strongly believe that what they do and think is a matter of regulation and management for the school community's good, rather than the teachers' controlling students' behaviour. Moreover, teachers

urge that students must learn about following rules and getting rewards and/or punishment accordingly. They say that students should know this rule in order to live as adults in our society. Meanwhile, the supremacy of control can be found in the class hour.

Bongsu tries to start the class again saying, 'Everyone! Get up!' And he continues to say, 'Hit those who are slumped over their desk!' This means waking those who are asleep … 21 minutes, the lesson began. Bongsu said, 'In today's class, students will read text books and then go through the printed materials and then finally students will watch a video clip.' Students still chatted. Bongsu told them, 'I will award you minus points from now if you keep talking'. Then some students at the back stopped talking but started to play baseball games on their mobile. And some boys settled down to sleep. (fieldnote_20120327)

18 minutes, Bongsu shouts, 'Those who did not open the book! Tell me your number! Quick!' so the students, except for one or two, quickly take their books out of the drawer and open them. (fieldnote_20120531)

Bongsu is also used to enforcing control mechanisms in his class. As he counts as a very progressive teacher, this indicates that the use of strict control mechanisms is very deeply infused in every aspect of school. The control mechanism links to the actual classroom teaching and learning practices, too. Most teachers use 'banking education' (Friere, 1970) as their classroom pedagogy. As teachers and students are used to controlling and being controlled, they are regarded as the most efficient and familiar methods of learning and teaching the content of textbooks. Most importantly, they are considered the most effective

ways of teaching in preparation for examinations, at the high school level in particular.

'Draw a line under this sentence! You should take it more seriously...These are the ones you should memorize... Draw a line ... Draw a square ...' Bongsu said this several times. (fieldnote_20120322)

'Let's go through it quickly. This is just simple, you just need to memorize them', said Bongsu. 'This is a must content – Development of wasteland! You must memorize it!' (fieldnote_20120516)

As Bongsu explains and explains, the peer leader of class 8 asks, 'Shall we draw a line?' Bongsu answers, 'Yes, draw a line!' (fieldnote_20120525)

Kwon: .... As you said, the way that teachers lead the class makes a difference. What kind of class do you prefer? I mean, which teaching style do you like more?

Dami: Teaching style? Well ... the examination ... Some teachers ... just teach everything ... the range of content to cover for the test is too wide ... if a teacher does not pick up important things for the test ... but just reads everything in the textbook ... it's not good. I can read that at home. I like teachers who give additional explanation and give a note on the printed materials ... And I like teachers who do not give us difficult things to do for performance assessment. I like teachers who give us printed material and let us fill in the blanks of the sentences and give us good grades in performance assessments. I like that kind of teacher. (interview_20120608_KimDami)

Students think that a good teacher is someone who highlights crucial points in the textbook, which will appear in forthcoming examinations. The crucial points, then, are based on exam-questions. Therefore, it may be said that this way of teaching and learning is *controlled* by the examination system.

Even though some students said that they prefer non-oppressive teachers and enjoy entertaining classes, they still consider oppression a better atmosphere for most students. Teachers also feel more comfortable to go through the textbook making comments for the students to note. Some young teachers remarked that they like noisy students in class, but when classes prepare for tests, teachers tend to prefer passive learners.

Bongsu's approach: 'This kind of content will not figure in the exam. But this kind of tale can be used as an example in exams ... so it's quite important ...' 'And this is very important. Be sure you know it!' (fieldnote_20120320)

Suddenly, Gyungmin, who looks very clever – and some others – ask questions about the examination, 'Teacher, what should we study?' Bongsu answers, 'Wow, you guys are asking about exams already? It will be decided in early April because everything we learn until then will be tested. Your class is very committed. You all know that all Korean history will be covered in the first semester, right? Then all the content, of about 200 pages, will be examined.' It is unbelievable. Bongsu continues, 'We should go through everything very quickly.' He adds, 'You should memorize this map! ... This map often comes in the test.' (fieldnote_20120320)

Today's lesson is about the Meiji Restoration in Japan and other critical incidents elsewhere. One good student asks, 'Do we need to know world history as well?',

Bongsu answers, 'You just study what I told you! You don't need to look at that [world history]. Well, it wasn't on the paper last year ... anyway, you just study what I told you!' Ultimately, the value of information is decided according to whether it's tested or not. Well ... I did the same in G high school. (fieldnote_20120419)

Examinations are essential at every level of education in South Korea. They have become the only standard for evaluating students and determining their future, above all in high schools. The burden of examinations in South Korean education is well-known and the salience ascribed to them is socially normative as well as a matter of inescapable custom. Consequently, examinations decide the state of students' minds – happy, sad, stressful, miserable, etc. Students usually feel very much stressed by the examination itself.

Kwon: Is there anything that makes you happy? Things around you?

Saeil: Well, there is one. I got a prize in a school competition.

Kwon: What competition?

Saeil: It was on earth science. I received the top prize in the first grade.

Kwon: Oh, really? Congratulations! So you like achieving something...?

Saeil: Yes.

Kwon: I see. Then what worries you most?

Saeil: Exam results.

Kwon: Why? Do you want higher grades?

Saeil: I didn't study a lot for the mock examination. So I had a terrible experience.

Kwon: Wasn't this your first time?

Saeil: Yes

Kwon: Well, that's okay, since these were your first results … No?

Saeil: But lots of people had better results than mine.

Kwon: Do you get stressed by studying?

Saeil: Well, I don't get stressed, but I feel pressured …

…

Kwon: What would you do with a good examination result?

Saeil: Go to university. (interview_20120612_OhSaeil)

Kwon: What bothers you most? Or what annoys you?

Gyungmin: Well, the fact that the exam is coming nearer.

Kwon: Exam?

Gyungmin: And a lot of assignments for performance assessment.

Kwon: Are they all stressful?

Gyungmin: Yes! … (interview_20120613_NamGyungmin)

Kwon: I see. So your ideas about studying and everything have changed, now you are a high school student …. Well, you guys become mature early.

Gaeun: As the grades take shape … haha

Kwon: [laugh] I see

Gaeun: As we come closer to reality…

Kwon: So your life is overshadowed by the exam as soon as you enter high school … right?

Gaeun: When I was in middle school, I didn't care about exam results, even if they were poor. I felt good because the exam was over. But now, the prospect of university is getting closer …

Nari: So I think about that reality first.

Kwon: So, even when you play….

Gaeun: Yeah, Before, when we played, we didn't care about anything … but now, when we're having fun … something on our mind keeps bothering … (interview_20120613_OhGaeunGaeNari)

The control mechanism is perpetuated most intensely by the examination system, where the results reflect students' penalty points. The penalty point system was introduced into the school system with the Students' Ordinance for Human Rights as a control strategy replacing corporal punishment. In Korean tradition, corporal punishment is understood as 'the rod of love,' which justified whipping in schools as disciplinary in purpose. If students disobeyed school regulations and got poor exam results, the sanction was physical punishment.

However, corporal punishment became a critical social problem as teachers' violence escalated and, when students' human rights were widely debated, doubts entered about the educational effects of corporal punishment, causing a social backlash. In the new social climate, the Students' Ordinance for Human Rights has finally prohibited corporal punishment in schools. As my interviews revealed, teachers now feel helpless and have not yet figured out other means of controlling students. A number of teachers agree with the prohibition against corporal punishment, but nonetheless criticize the decision process and the haste to implement it. The system did not allow enough time for teachers to

prepare for the new educational culture. Hence they now feel controlled in their work by the state.

Samjae: You know, Menboong (mental breakdown) ... Because academic high schools are traditionally places of study, but their general atmosphere has collapsed. For example, 95%-100% of the students who cannot even qualify for vocational high school enter academic high school, but they show little inclination to study. And we have no special programmes for them. They have no interest in studying. Only in putting on make-up and doing other things and sleeping ... This is the real situation. We have to teach classes that include those students. In the past we could use corporal punishment and so on, but now we can't because of the enforcement of the Students' Ordinance for Human Rights. So we have no way of controlling them. So students now think that they can do whatever they want. Teacher evaluations have also come in - students use these to undermine teachers' positions, making teachers feel victimized. As Lee said, responsibilities should accompany rights, but students have no sense of this ... They omit selectively ... like duty, and so on. It's difficult for teachers to handle this problem. In academic high school, the university entrance exam is the key aim and issue. But they can't pass because they just chat in class or sleep. So I think that controlling students to pass exams is our most difficult task. (interview_20121121_6&7)

Kwon: Well, students are changing. Where corporal punishment was once accepted to some extent in schools, now it is totally forbidden. And the penalty system has replaced it. What do you think of this?

Saeyoung: It is better not to give corporal punishment. It hurts students. So, I don't think corporal punishment, in any form, should be allowed in schools - in theory. However, the penalty system is now in the process of being institutionalized ... And students are reacting very angrily to it. It's being introduced because there are no other sanctions ... and this is a matter of bureaucracy. That is, the system remains as it

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is, nothing has changed except that corporal punishment is prohibited by law and [teachers] give penalty points … That's why it's so problematic. So rather than making regulations to prohibit corporal punishment, [the government should] make classes smaller – that is, assign fewer students to each class … or invest in research in schools to find strategies for mediating conflicts … For example, reducing class numbers or employing more teachers and assigning more teachers to classes, or other means such as a counselling programme with specialized experts or a school police system … and so on. A penalty point system could be introduced with other different programmes … Just imposing penalty points without any intermediate state with specific features makes students react like that. Teachers also are very tired and face many difficulties in enforcing the system. (interview_20121121_multiculture)

'Controlling the means of control' sums up teachers' experience of banning corporal punishment. Teachers use the penalty point system to control or manage students in their class because they have no choice. Some, but not all, agree with the use of penalty points; some even prefer corporal punishment[21]. The penalty system causes conflict between teachers and makes them feel controlled by the government. Meanwhile, many students find corporal punishment less cruel because penalty points can in the end expel students altogether. Replacing physical punishment with indirect punishment does not change the nature of the control mechanism, except that teachers and students find direct punishment preferable. In sum, it justifies the whole idea of classroom control under the banner of education. Control mechanisms appear systematically in diverse forms. Indoctrination in teaching, the strong emphasis on examinations and the penalty

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[21] Some teachers criticize the penalty point system for dehumanizing behaviour and quantifying the relationship between teachers and students. They maintain that corporal punishment is not about violence, but about love and compassion. By contrast, others welcome the penalty point system because they believe that corporal punishment, including physical exercising, hurts students and generates among them a sense of fear without educational significance.

point system reproduce the traditional control mechanism in schools and, in my observation, students and teachers seem to be accustomed to such control.

4.3.2 Abusive and extremely violent language used in everyday life

A focus on language is central in understanding the individual power and agency we all have to reproduce and to create change (Davis, 1994). In other words, language symbolises the individual's power and its relation to schooling. Language embodies many dimensions. It has cultural, social and psychological aspects. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that language displays people's diverse status in cultural, social and psychological terms. Thus, it is critical to observe how students express themselves and what kinds of language they use every day.

Many people are worried about young people's language which is destroying pure Korean. For example, children use many acronyms combined with English words, called *Konglish* (Korean + English). Most of them originate from the internet and computer games. However, from my perspective, this is a rather minor element in understanding young people's language and I did not focus specifically on it in my observations. Students may use *Konglish* and destroy the pure Korean language but this simply represents the global influence and power of English. I observed, however, that the current use of violent language in expressing feelings and designating friends and teachers is critical for understanding the culture of students.

Surprisingly or not, the language that students use today is very abusive. For some time it has been normal to hear the word 'fuck' from primary school students. It is easy to see that the students who use abusive language are getting younger and the force of such language is quite severe. Likewise, many students, trouble-makers in particular, use such abusive language as if it were normal.

A video clip begins. But Mingi starts to talk about a girls' football game in the athletic meeting. Boys including Gyungwoo and two other bad boys are very interested. Suddenly, Sumi cries 'Hey, do we do girls' football? No dodge ball play?' She asks several times but the boys don't listen. Finally, one answers, 'No, no dodge ball play, you madam.' Sumi, with a smile, says 'I asked you seven times, you fucking boys!' The other students all laugh … While most students are busy talking about games in the athletic meeting, Gyungwoo said something to Sumi, to which she replied, 'Don't mess around me, or I'll stab you!' Of course, she's joking but she was holding a sharp pointed brush. (fieldnote, 20120424)

Gyungwoo tapped the boy in front of him on the shoulder. Then another boy hit Gyungwoo with a book, for fun. Gyungwoo smiled and said, 'Ssibal (fuck), You touched my ears. I will tear your ears in half. You be careful when we go camping in second grade. I will perforate your ears with my earrings.' It definitely seems a joke but it really sounds scary. (fieldnote_20120403)

When students use abusive language, they often feminize the language in order to make the hearer feel worse. Boys and girls put 'nyun' at the end of every word. *Nyun* means something like 'cow' or 'bitch' in English.

Kwon: Yes, I wanted to ask you... You guys use a lot of cuss words, honestly. Right? But

why do you put 'nyun (bitch)' at the end, even if you are cussing each other?

Giduck: Well …

Jungho: If we say 'Nom' (dude) we don't feel that's bad, but if we hear 'Nyun' we get really mad.

Kwon: So, you do it to make people feel worse?

Jungho: when we say, 'hey, you crazy guys' and when we say, 'hey, you crazy bitch! '… doesn't it sound different?

Giduck: If someone says, 'hey you crazy guy!' then we say, 'oh, yeah, why?' but if one says, 'hey, you crazy bitch!' then we feel like … shit!

Kwon: Do you feel stronger when you say 'Nyun'?

Jungho: We use it when we are angry.

Giduck: When things are accidental, we say 'You crazy bitch (nyun)!' …

Kwon: I see. I wondered why you guys why call each other 'Nyun, Nyun'…

Jungho: And sometimes … for example, yesterday … Kim blabla was doing something and we called him, 'you slut!!' [laugh] (interview_20120620_Jihoonetc)

Not only to friends but also when they are angry and feel bad, do students use feminized abusive language. To illustrate, Jungyun stumbled over a dustpan after she got a penalty point from Bongsu. She was angry and shouted at it, 'You fucking dustpan *nyun*'. In addition, when they tease each other, boys insult other friends by saying, 'you gay bastard.'

The use of such abusive language had somehow been expected. What stood out from my observations was that, while the trouble-makers and some of the good students are accustomed to routinely using abusive language, other good

students feel quite uncomfortable to use or hear such language. Yet they lack the courage to ask the trouble-makers to stop.

Kwon: ... Well, how would you describe good students?

Bomi: Well ... those who use language beautifully.

Kwon: What do you mean?

Bomi: Well, not using cuss words ... you know, I don't want them to use elegant words but I want them to stop cussing around.

Kwon: I see. But many students use cuss words, don't they?

Bomi: You're right. It's hard to listen to them.

Kwon: I understand.

Bomi: So, if they stopped using such words, it would be much better.

(interview_20120605_KimBomi)

Abusive language escalates the conflicts between good and bad students and forms a critical element in the counter-school culture of bad students in class. More surprising is the matter of students, the trouble-makers in particular, who express their feelings via violent, cruel and terrifying language. They say 'I want to commit suicide, I will kill them, I would rather go blind' and so on, without hesitation.

I was preparing to finish the observation of the day, but suddenly Jungho said, 'Oh,

my! I want to commit suicide!' Well, in Korea people say, 'I want to die' when in a very difficult situation or when we feel very stressed … and I think this is the kind of context in which Jungho speaks of 'suicide'… But it is rather surprising to me. How can he just say, 'I would like to commit suicide' with a big smile on his face? For a while I can't believe my ears. (fieldnote_20120419)

Dayoon is mad at her boyfriend because he watched a movie with another girl but he said she is simply a friend, so he told Dayoon to just understand him. Dayoon cries and cries. But she was wearing contact lenses. Her friends advise, 'Take them out and then cry!' but she answers, 'I don't care if I do go blind!' What a brave girl … A few minutes later, I hear Dayoon saying, 'Oh, my. I want to kill them. I shouldn't … but I have a knife' … Oh, dear … The class begins. Giduck is burning the hairs on his arm, playing with a lighter. (fieldnote_20120516)

They may not take these words seriously but simply enjoy them. The students presumably do not mean that they would really kill themselves or lose their sight, but are expressing strongly their feelings of misery or anger. Teachers, Isoo and Hyunjoo and some teachers in S high school, assume that children these days have poor mental control and are emotionally weak, expressing their feelings violently. Furthermore, according to Bongsu, a poor family background affects children in this regard. That is, their *habitus* is reflected in their use of language – vulgar and unenhanced.

Hyunjoo: When did those cuss words appear? Nowadays, I can hear cuss words even on the university campus … At some point, students begin using abusive language as a habit. I jog around the park every day and I hear female university students cussing around; I think it is now like another language used by younger people even those in their mid-twenties.

Isoo: University students at least know when to use it, I think. Nevertheless, they still use it a lot.

Hyunjoo: We don't use cuss words when we talk with our friends, do we?

Isoo: And I think students are very emotionally undeveloped – their ability to feel sympathy is very poor. So I don't think they would know that their use of such language might harm others but they would fly off the handle if someone else used such words to them … (interview_20120708_NamHyunjooSeoIsoo)

However, it is noteworthy that some teachers' language is similar. According to naughty boys in class 7 and naughty girls in class 8, those teachers show contempt for students. They were also criticized by the good students. However, I did not witness such language in my observations; in my presence, teachers may have been more careful.

Jihoon: Uchol said, 'Suchol (a teacher) is here.' We were talking about some school secrets … and suddenly someone shouted, 'Here comes Suchol!!' And straight after that, Suchol came in and asked 'Who said, "Here comes Suchol"'?

Jungho: Do the voices!!

Igyung: 'Who said "Here comes Suchol"'?

Giduck: Then suddenly, he called a friend who was sleeping beside me and said, 'Move over, you bugger!' 'What?' said my friend. Then he (a teacher) said, 'You bugger, go to the student's department!' My friend didn't know what had happened so he asked why. Anyway … my friend got five penalty points. (interview_20120620_Jihoonetc)

4.3.3 Internalized intolerance to difference

Difference derives from diversity. Diversity can take the form of race, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual orientation and disability. Diversity is an important social phenomenon in every country. In the case of South Korea, diversity has recently become critical, with the increase of immigrants from culturally, racially and ethnically different backgrounds. Therefore, the introduction of multicultural education for handling the new social problems caused by diversity has become an important educational issue. S high school, for instance, had a multicultural education programme in the club activities period.

However, children from different cultures have hardly appeared yet in South Korean high schools. This is because multiculturalism is still new here, compared to countries such as the UK and the USA. Naturally, S high school students and teachers have no experience of dealing with differences and diversity. Yet the school was asked to start a club activity for multicultural education which involved forming a teacher-led group of students to mentor elementary schoolchildren who hailed from multicultural families. The leader, however, had no idea how to organise such a club.

Luckily, I was in S high school doing my fieldwork, so Bongsu asked me to help the lead teacher because I had previously conducted some research studies on multicultural problems in South Korea. The students had joined this club to qualify for special acknowledgement of their voluntary service in their student records. The lead teacher's motive was to build relationships between S high

school students and primary school students from multicultural families. However, the students had no idea or experience of dealing with differences. It was the first time they had ever thought about categorical differences of this kind.

To be honest, talking to teachers about some critical issues regarding multiculturalism is hard … and to students much harder. Anyway I planned to talk about identity, multiculturalism and stereotypes. The students seemed to enjoy it. Minjoo and Yoonji seemed to feel awkward at first but slowly took part with the rest. I deliberately asked them, 'What do you think I think about you guys at the back when I observe your classes?' Then I asked, 'What do you think I think about students who sit in the front?' I talked about differences of standpoint. This discussion led us to talk about diversity. Here, Yoonji and Minjoo responded, 'You think we show off too much in class and that we aren't good.' After the discussion, I said, 'No, not really. Trust me, guys!' in order to seem friendlier. I also told students about putting on make-up in class, in order to talk about cultural differences. So I created a chance for them to share their thoughts about make-up – those who do it and those who don't. They showed more interest, since it brings in their daily experience. At the first meeting of teacher and students, it was very clear that no one had any idea what multiculturalism meant … It is very new and they had rarely come across it Yet they followed quite well even though it is quite difficult. (fieldnote_20120504)

According to the categorizations of multiculturalism, diversity and difference also occur in gender and sexual orientation. It was clear from my observations that boys and girls have different cultures and they seem hardly to understand each other, least of all the trouble-makers. Boys often said when the girls were chatting, 'Oh, what bitches! That's dame noise they're making. If she was not a girl, I would beat her to a pulp!'

Jihoon: I really cannot understand our class president.

Jungho: I hate girls in our class.

Giduck: I will kill the girls in our class with a power saw.

All: [laugh]

Jungho: Hey, you man. It has a bad prenatal effect! That's too much...

Kwon: That's fine. Don't worry.

Jungho: So let's take them to the mountain without warning.

Kwon: Girls in your class? Why?

Dayoon: Because girls are noisy.

Jihoon: You know, Wonyoung? A girl who sits in front of the class. I hate her the most.

Kwon: I think I know who she is.

Giduck: I will tell you a story. One day, I received 15 penalty points so I felt sucks. I really felt bad so I was waiting in line to have lunch alone. Suddenly she came over and futzed with me...'Don't play with mobiles!' You guys know that day, right? So I beautifully swore in front of her. And then some time later I said sorry to her but anyway we didn't talk each other for several days. So I feel much better now.

Jungho: I think she thinks that she is powerful.

Igyung: Doesn't she always look back and stare at us?

Jungho: She even makes speeches in front of me. ... Bippp ... what you, fucking bitch!! ...

Jihoon: Self-disposal!

Jungho: 'Bullshit, do you think you and I are friends?' I said to her. I and Igyung played rock-paper-scissors and then we planned that the loser would kill her. Igyung

lost but he hasn't killed her so far. Do it, quickly, man.

Igyung: I will do it one day. Just wait.

Kwon: But why?

Giduck: She is noisy. Another girl who is really disgusting is Saegyung.

Jungho: She only bothers you, but Wonyoung really makes me want to kill her.

Giduck: Hey, Saegyung is sucks. She is just crazy about 'BEAST!' When she talks about them crazily...

Jungho: Did you see that? At lunch time, some girls were chatting and I said, 'Hey, isn't Lee Gi Gwang very short?' Everyone stared me as if they were going to kill me. So I closed the door and went out.

Kwon: haha, you talked about their idols that they love.

Jihoon: You wouldn't know what might happen if you talked about BEAST in front of fans.

Giduck: Those damn girls have no idea and forget themselves. You know when we change our clothes before PE class, girls have skirts, right? So they put on the trousers first and then take off their skirt, right? And I really don't know about girls because I graduated from a boys' middle school. So I just went into the classroom to change my trousers. Then the girls shouted, 'What are you looking at?' I really felt the urge to do murder at that point. (interview_20120620_JihoonetcwithDayoon)

Naughty boys sometimes used words which are very sexually harassing. Girls did not appear to take this seriously. But girls seem to attach themselves to their boyfriends' power. Rather than questioning boys' culture and fighting against their violence, girls tend to build relationships with boys and depend on them. As Bongsu once said, it seems that naughty girls take an instrumental approach in building relationships with boys.

Herim: I always solve problems if Eunji has any. Hyungjoon asked Eunji for a date. But Eunji said she had a boyfriend. Then Hyungjoon proposed that she should cheat on the boyfriend for a week. Then if Eunji felt that her boyfriend was better than Hyungjoon, he would let her go. Unfortunately, Eungji's boyfriend saw this … he caught Eungji and beat her to a pulp. And then Hyungjoon caught Eunji and beat her to a pulp.

Kwon: What do you mean by beat her to a pulp? Do you mean that they really beat her?

Herim: No, no. between boys, beat is done on the phone and to Eunji they sent katalk messages. Hyungjoon is really scary and he knows a lot of seniors in our school.

Kwon: I see.

Herim: So Hyungjoon even said some sexually harassing things to her. So I tried to reconcile them… I call Hyungjoon, 'What's your problem … dear, my baby.' And Hyungjoon call me 'Noona' … So I try to make him feel better … and [I'm] in the middle … I just cannot study.

Kwon: Really? Because you're in the middle trying to reconcile them?

Herim: Exactly. As soon as I open a book to study Hyungjoon calls me after he's been drinking, 'Noona, I've had problems with Eungji … bla bla bla …' Then I said, 'Oh, really? I will katalk with Eunji.' Then Eunji calls me and complains about Hyungjoon, 'He's crazy!' and I told her to wait and then talk to Hyungjoon, and so on. Now at last everything is solved and they feel good about each other … (interview_20120620_KimHerim2)

In reality, as my observations show, boys and girls have not learned to understand each other and have equal relationships. They are not interested even when teachers try to make them think about gender equality and such issues.

The PowerPoint is about females in the Corea dynasty. Bongsu said the girls will like it because females at that time had a more equal relationship with males than in the Chosun dynasty. No responses from students. (fieldnote_20120327)

Only 9 students in class watch the video clip. The rest sleep, or sit blankly, doing mobiles or make-up and chatting. The video is about women and education (Empress Myungsung and Ewah school) but it seems that no one is interested. The bell rings for break. (fieldnote_20120522)

Good boys and girls worry more about their academic achievement than gender issues. Boys tend to avoid mixed schools because girls tend these days to have higher results. Teachers typically say that girls are more meticulous. Regarding educational opportunities, boys and girls do seem on the surface to have equal opportunities but deep within the classroom lurk pronounced gender-related conflicts both visibly and more covertly in various dimensions – make-up, gossip, playing and studying.

Furthermore, students often shout 'Loser' at someone whom they dislike and do not understand, but not across genders. Boys also tease other boys who by their standards act like 'losers'. When they tease a loser, they ask him 'Are you gay?' And if two boys look at something together or approach the same thing closely, others laugh at them and say, 'You two gays!', 'Are you homosexual?' I often noted this among boys in break-times. Homosexuality is still very controversial in South Korean society; it seems quite clear that it does not have

positive connotations among high school students.

Finally, students often enjoy teasing their classmates who have disabilities. S high school has a special education class. Not many students have disabilities but in class 7 there was one girl with mental retardation. She did not stay in the same room all day, but went to a special education classroom with other friends with disabilities. In the first and last classes each day, she stayed in her classroom.

Suddenly, a mentally retarded student – Youngwoo – stood up, went to the back of the classroom and tried to go outside. But the door was locked, so she pulled the door-handle several times before asking me, 'Would you please open the door?' I opened it for her, but it was hard to get out because a girl was lying in the way, fast asleep. Youngwoo squeezed herself through and went out. At this disturbance, the girl woke up, but then closed the door and locked it. So Youngwoo when she returned found the door was locked and tugged at the handle several times. I thought of opening the door for her but wanted to see how the other students would react. No one opened the door for her. Finally, she came through the door at the front. (fieldnote_20120503)

She returned to class during the break. 20 minutes: she suddenly stood up and asked 'Teacher, can I go to the toilet?' Bongsu answered, 'Oh, yes! Sure!' The moment she left, trouble-makers started to make fun of her. Igyung said, 'Youngwoo's gone out for a smoke!' and Uchol insisted 'she took a lighter!' They kept teasing her. What makes them do it? Youngwoo came back. Igyung suddenly said out loud, 'Oh, dear me! A whiff of smoke! Teacher, a whiff of smoke!' Bongsu ignored him. Fortunately, the other students did not respond to Igyung's joke. (fieldnote_20120523)

Teachers also do not know how to make classrooms inclusive to students

with special needs. Even Bongsu did not recognize that Youngwoo was in class. The way that teachers dealt with students with disability was to tell the class not to call them exceptional children but 'a friend in *Happy Class'* (the name for the special education class in S high school). Overall, intolerance to differences and ignorance about diversity are nothing but daily practices learned from society and school. These practices seem, according to what I observed and learned from interviews, to be deeply internalized in students' minds and form a *habitus* of intolerance. The resulting behaviour and language still generate conflicts in class.

4.3.4 Explicit school violence and delinquent/ deviant behaviour: in and outside the school boundary

School violence is a critical social issue these days in South Korea. School violence relates to a culture of *iljin* in South Korea, so people use *iljin* as the name of a representative group of young people who are involved in school violence. *Iljin* lexically means a group of military personnel – 'a squad' – but it is often used in the school context. The culture of *iljin* will be described in this section.

According to rumour, S high school is notorious for violence and high rates of expulsion. Naturally, I assumed that there would be quite a few cases of observed school violence in S high school. Surprisingly, however, it did not seem a major issue there. The teachers and students, the good students in particular, said that school violence is not very serious. As I observed and discovered in interviews, it seemed at first that there was a stark difference between the media

reports and the evidence, given that no very distinctive events occurred in this period. Yet, gradually I was able to identify *iljin* and school violence in more oblique ways. It is hard to see directly because school violence usually happens outside the school and during breaks or lunch-times when no teacher is around. It includes bullying and mugging.

Kwon: You know, those *iljin* appeared on the news...I don't think there are *iljin* in this school...

Herim: Everyone is like that in this school. There are students who show off in class...

Kwon: Do you call those students *iljin*?

Herim: No, I don't think they are *iljin*. There might be one or two *iljin* in our school. But in this school almost everybody shows off in class.

Kwon: So you are saying that it is meaningless to say which students are *iljin* in this school ... Is that correct?

Herim: Yes. It is useless to make distinctions. I think it is quite surprising that students in this school do not care about each other. *Iljin* do not care about other students and those who are not iljin also do not feel scared. *Iljin* just tease other students from time to time...

Kwon: But it is not serious?

Herim: No, it is serious. You know, Eunji, she broke up with Hyungjoon. But when she was dating, her relationship with those girls at the back went bad. Well, Eunji hadn't liked them from the beginning, because they enjoy showing off too much. One day, those girls ... you know hot-spot? If you have a smart phone, you can provide wifi using hot-spot. So they asked Eunji to open her hot-spot so that they could use wifi. Eunji refused. They kept asking her and even cussed her around but Eunji ignored them. They said really bad words to Eunji but she still ignored them. They even told

her 'Don't look at us like that!' I thought it was over. But that night, they called Eunji into group Katalk (mobile application) and attacked her. So Eunji said sorry, in order to avoid that situation. But still they told her to say sorry 'respectfully' in school. What a crazy situation, isn't it? Eunji did not apologise to them for a couple of days. Then one day, after morning assembly, they shouted at Eunji, 'Why don't you say sorry to us? If you don't want to be embarrassed in front of others, you'd better say sorry to us!' But Eunji still refused … What they did …well, Eunji skipped CA about three times. Eunji and they are in the same CA class. They told the teachers in the Student Department that Eunji had skipped CA classes. So Eunji received 6 penalty points yesterday.

Kwon: Oh, I see. Rather than hitting her directly….

Kim: We don't do hitting these days. One of my friends said, 'Oh, fuck! There is a crazy girl in our class but I mustn't hit her. Before, we'd say, go and hit her. But after this … school violence thing … in the media … we cannot do that. Before, if we beat someone else and schools would connive at any school violence, it would just leave some space for us to get reconciled … but these days, even if we hit her on the shoulder we'd get penalty points, and so on…

Kwon: So you guys use some other ways to…?

Kim: Yes, we grumble at each other.

Kwon: I see. Very interesting …

Kim: Yes. But I think it is not a good way. When Eunji was walking along the corridor, people who are close to those four girls in other classes swore at her.

Kwon: Oh, really?

Kim: yes. They did it in front of her. And they even did the same to me because I am Eunji's friend. They told me 'We don't bear you any ill-will. But we are not sure about harming you if you are a friend of hers. We would not harm you directly, but you will get into some trouble if you hang around Eunji.'

Kwon: Wow, they threatened you!

Kim: Yes, they did. 'We won't harm you but you may be in danger.' So I told them that

I would take it seriously but I would not be bothered about it. 'I am her friend anyway.' And then I left the group katalk.

Kwon: Okay, everything happens in online katalk ... right?

Kim: Yes. If there were no katalk, I don't think those attacks would happen. More importantly, in katalk we can recognize whether the receiver of the message has actually checked it or not. I don't like that. Eunji unexpectedly pressed the button so they knew she had read the whole message. Then more huge amounts of message came ... 'why don't you reply ... you read them all ... bla bla ...' (interview_20120605_KimHerim)

Kwon: ...well, is there a problem of school violence or iljin problems in S high school as well?

Heungsoo: Of course. Even among good students; they beat each other. ... Really, school violence is always there, always.

Kwon: Always? Like bullying?

Heungsoo: Yes. When there is no teacher..

Kwon: in school? When does it usually happen?

Heungsoo: Yes, in school itself, but the real bullying happens when school is over ... It is really serious. It was perhaps when I was in middle school it was really serious. Our friends called to fight. Unfortunately, they called their seniors and one of them used some kind of weapon. He hit his friend with that weapon so the blood spilt over everything. So they called the emergency service and it was all in chaos. I wasn't there that time. Even if I'd been there I would have escaped if I'd felt something was going too far. It is sort of my law of survival. My mum told me to leave so I do **…** (interview_20120619_ParkHeungsoo)

As I gradually realised from my interviews, bad students are often

involved in school violence. Generally, those bad students are called *iljin*. The *culture of iljin* is formed via close relations between seniors and juniors. Senior *iljin* take care of juniors and juniors show excessive loyalty – by giving money or expensive goods. Seniors can beat juniors if they are not satisfied with what the juniors have given or in a bad mood. A group of *iljin* enjoys riding motorbikes, which are all illegal. In order to ride them they steal money or motorbikes. Not only for fun, but to do part-time jobs – deliveries. Junior *iljin* have to deliver things if seniors ask or force them to, whether they have a licence or not. Students feel more scared of seniors than teachers. Unverified reports by some students speak of a graver culture of *iljin,* with peculiar sexual activities, but this was not verified in this research.

The trouble-makers interviewed seem to have been involved in *iljin* but they do not say that they are *iljin*. They claim that the media report is exaggerated. But as they talked and steadily became more open with me, it seemed that much of what the media said is true, but the trouble-makers find it entertaining rather than serious. When they told me their stories, they sounded like confidential but adventurous tales.

Kwon: Really? It was exaggerated then … I saw in the newspaper that you will get bullied …

Giduck: Northface, padding wear[22]… everything is exaggerated in the media.

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[22] *Northface padding wear*: this symbolised *iljin* and school violence in schools. Northface padding was very expensive wear for students but they formed a culture of wearing it as a mark of honour. Depending on the price and its series, students created a class among themselves. For

Kwon: Oh, really? I see.

Jungho: Yeah, they are not true.

Kwon: Well, they said there is a sort of class …

Jungho: Well, in some regions, they do have it … but we don't say anything … and frankly, they all sell Northface padding. [Igyung: Right!] I have mine at his (Igyung's) place …

Jihoon: You fucking idiot! (looking at Jungho) He is such a bastard. Can I tell her the story? [Jungho: Shush!] Shall I tell her how you got it [Northface padding]?'

Jungho: Well… I …

Jihoon: No, no. I will tell her. If you tell her, you're a really bad bastard.

Jungho: Alright. I will stay as still as if I hadn't any idea of it.

Jihoon: He … stopped a boy who was passing in the street and said, 'Take it off' and then Jungho took it. Jungho took a 48,000 one. [Kwon: What?] I mean he took a Northface padding which cost 48,000 and then came to me and said, 'Jihoon, will you keep it for me?'

Jungho: No, I will make it a good story. Well, I met an old friend of mine on the street. I said hello and asked him, 'Wow, it looks awesome, man. Whose is it?' He answered, 'One of the boys in the first grade.' So I asked again, 'Who in the first grade?' '000 in the first grade.' And I knew 000 so I suggested to my friend, 'Let's start the job!' 'Your seniors stole this from you, okay?' I told him and then I wore it to school. And then I told Jihoon, 'Hey, Jihoon, will you keep this for me?' That's how the real story goes.

Igyung: Didn't you give it back? Do you still have it?

Jihoon: [Nods] To put it simply, it was like this: 'Take it off, put this on and go'.

Jungho: [He seems very entertained, with a big smile on his face] You made me a fucking bastard, man!

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example, if a student possesses approximately 400 GBP padding, he or she is a general in rank. And if a student has 145 GBP padding, he or she is a loser – the lowest class in their school (Herald, 2012; NewDaily, 2011).

Jungho seems very proud to share this story. So I asked him whether he worries about getting caught by the police. He confidently said that he was keeping watch on his friends for a week to see if they would tell the police. He had a plan to buy a second-hand Northface padded garment to make a deal with them if they reported him. That is, he would ask his mum for the money for it and then share half the money with them. As they shared the narrative, they made jokes about my recording, that I could shop them to the police. They pretend to erase the recordings and Jungho said, 'There's gonna be a red line under my name if she reports this to the police, man!'

When I interview trouble-makers in each class, the parts I am most curious about concern the relationship between senior and junior *iljin,* because it was impossible for me observe directly outside school. Hence, I asked them about their experiences and they proudly shared these stories also.

Kwon: Okay, let me ask you this. Did you guys ever get robbed by your seniors?

All: Of course....

Jungho: Not robbed, but I was beaten a lot.

Jihoon: Beaten and robbed.

Giduck: They took cigarettes.

Jungho: The story goes like this. I had a pack of cigarettes. But my seniors were good, so they just took one at a time. But ... a group of seniors came. About 12? They each

took a cigarette … 12 seniors, one cigarette each, right? That left only 8 in my pack.

Jihoon: And then if we started to smoke, other friends of our seniors came along.

Jungho: About 4 friends of theirs came and asked us to give them cigarettes … Two left …

Kwon: Right … but why did they beat you?

Jihoon: My seniors were quite strange. They'd say, 'Come on, hold on to the wall' then, Puck, Puck, Puck!

Kwon: No reason?

Jihoon: No. And they go, 'Sell these clothes. If you can't, give us your money!'

Jungho: In our area, there is a guy who is the god of compulsory purchase.

Jihoon: But he doesn't give us clothes. We gave him money but he doesn't give us clothes. So we reported him to the police.

Jungho: Our senior, who's like that … he calls me. 'Hey, Jungho' He speaks very nicely. And suddenly he asks, 'Have you had dinner?' Then I can sense that. 'Oh, shit!' [Laugh] I answer, 'Yes, I have.' 'Right. Well, I have … 700. Will you buy it?' It is when the series of 700, 800 of Northface padding was popular. I told him that I didn't have any money. But he just says, 'buy it' and then he hangs up. [Kwon: Did you have to buy it then?] We had no other choice but to buy. And when we were in the second grade of middle school, we sort of got interested in riding a motorbike. Seniors call us and we can see that this motorbike is out of order. But they ask us, 'Hey, guys, will you buy it?' 'No, we don't have the money.' 'Well, make 20,000 won by tomorrow!' If we don't make it, 'Okay, we will give you two weeks, make 20,000 won by then!' If we do make that amount, we give them the money and take that broken motorbike with us.

Jihoon: I had a similar case … there was a senior of our group – Lee HyukJoon.

Jungho: Give her his name to report him to the police.

Jihoon: He's been reported lots of times already. Anyway, the reason why our seniors

beat us without any reason is because of Lee Hyukjoon. He did so many cruel things to our seniors so they just did the same to us. But we didn't do the same to our juniors. We stopped it in our generation. Well, Lee Hyukjoon is a devil. We have 5 seniors. Lee HyukJoon ordered them, 'Hey, go there and take it!' Then they had to take it because if they disobeyed, they would be beaten so hard. They couldn't even go home. So when the Northface padding 700, 800 was popular, Lee Hyukjoon had them all in his closet. Then our seniors had to sell them and had to buy motorbikes. And they hadn't a licence, right? So Lee hyukJoon threatens that he will report them to the police. Then he took back the motorbike and took money from them … he really is the devil …

Jungho: But my seniors did not beat us for no reason. We'd all done something wrong.

Kwon: What did you do wrong?

Jungho: We did something wrong, but they beat us too much, beyond the limit. ….

Jihoon: Oh, and our seniors made us fight. I didn't fight but I had three friends. They fought a lot because of them. Cho 000, Yoon 000 and Lee Hakmin fought a lot. And they were beaten so many times. They fought even if they didn't want to fight. They got beaten because they didn't fight. Sometimes, I was beaten because 00 didn't come to school.

Kwon: You really got beaten without reason..

Jihoon: Yes, they'd just say, 'Why did you run away from home?' Puck!

(interview_20120620_Jihoonetc)

They got involved in *iljin* activities because the friends of the seniors approached them in March – the beginning of the year – and started to build relationships. According to Jungho and Jihoon, Igyung had many seniors in S high school, while they had none. Therefore, Igyung was able to escape from many

cases: he did not get caught smoking and such. As they themselves described it, the trouble-makers entertain themselves by enjoying the culture of *iljin*, which basically includes behaviours which are delinquent according to social norms and school regulations, for example, smoking, drinking alcohol, cheating, stealing and dating. Girls enjoy doing their make-up. As they smoke and drink, tricking, stealing and bullying ensue. Typically, they possess false ID cards and use them to buy cigarettes and alcohol. They feel very proud to deceive shopkeepers, as a dramatic and fun activity. Those who look old enough to buy cigarettes and alcohols without an ID card feel good about it.

Kwon: What do you usually do at the weekend?

Sohee: We play …

Kwon: Right. What do you play when you guys meet?

Sohee: We just sit around and talk …

Kwon: And drink alcohol?

All: [nod and laugh]

Kwon: But where can you go for a drink?

Heebong: In friends' house when their parents are away. Or on the roof of apartment blocks.

Kwon: The roof?

Jia: You guys might fall …

Heebong: How can we fall down from there? …

Kwon: How much can you guys drink? This lady (Heebong) looks very strong …

Heebong: Me?

Sohee: She really drinks a lot. I think she does.

Kwon: Anyways, can you guys buy alcohol? Isn't it restricted?

Sohee: The ID!

Heebong: We have ID cards.

Sohee: We can go to a bar if we have an ID.

Heebong: We could go to the club as well.

Kwon: Where can you get an ID?

Sohee: They sell them.

Heebong: They sell them. If we ask our seniors, 'Oh, sister, I need an ID card, I will buy it if your friends are selling them.' Then a few days later, she calls me and I buy it for 2000 or 3000 won.

Kwon: So you just change the picture?

Sohee: No, we don't change it. We can buy alcohol even if we don't look like that.

Kwon: So you all have them?

Jia and Heebong: I don't have one.

Kwon: Oh, but if only one or two in your group have an ID, they can buy drinks, right?

Heebong: Yes. That one is Jungyun in our group.

(interview_20120611_JiaHeebongSohee)

Iljin smoke in school. They smoke in toilets or corners of the building where they can hide. However, there are some students who seem to have graduated from *iljin*. They still have *iljin* friends but they differentiate themselves

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from them. 'Graduate' *iljin* usually give up smoking. They go in for dating but no longer drink regularly on Fridays or at weekends. Some were close friends of students who have died in motorbike accidents. These accidents persuade them to think again about their lives.

Interestingly, 'graduate' *iljin* always draw a line between events inside and outside school. Herim, for example, smokes, but never in school. She can do whatever she wants outside school, but she has promised her mother that she will at least not make trouble in school. Other 'graduate' *iljin* commonly maintain that they never behaved like delinquents in school. Namsoon plays with *iljin* friends only during break- or lunch-times when teachers are not watching. A school where teachers are on watch is a very critical place in which to distinguish their behaviours from *iljin*.

'Graduate' *iljin* accentuate the difference between themselves and their *iljin* friends. They insist that these *iljin* friends are immature and they should study hard in order to recover from their *dark* past. The major explicit difference between *iljin* and 'graduate' *iljin* is the possession of penalty points. Haerim, Namsoon and Heungsoo, all 'graduate' *iljin,* were very proud of never having had penalty points. They can face facts and think that school is the place to prepare for a better life. And they know from experience that school is the place where they can be protected. This process of graduating from *iljin* indicates some degree of social mobility between classroom sub-cultures. However, even this mobility is strictly governed by symbolic norms and the ex-*iljin* members retain some standing of power as individuals who have shown in the past that they are capable of committing both symbolic and explicit violence.

Kwon: ... how about going to school? Is it okay now?

Heungsoo: Yes. You know, I have been in school and I have been away from school, so I know that going to school is better. When I'm absent, I enjoy it a lot to begin with. But then I think about my future – what will I do in the future? Then I regret it. I think about what I will do when I grow up if I leave school without qualifications. And also, if I have children, what will they think of me ...

Kwon: You really think about a distant future.

Heungsoo: Yes. If my child asks, 'What school did you go to, dad?' and I answer, elementary school... I will feel very ashamed. (interview_20120619_ParkHeungsoo)

Kwon: Did you want to go to another high school far away from here?

Namsoon: I wanted to leave this area and go where no one knows about me.

Kwon: In order to start a new life there?

Namsoon: Yes. But ... well ... I don't have a choice now.

Kwon: Right ... but do you think it was a successful way to start a new life here?

Namsoon: No, I don't think much has changed.

Kwon: Really? So is the way you behaved in middle school different from what I see you doing in high school?

Namsoon: In middle school I sat at the back of the classroom and made a noise.

Kwon: Like the kids in your class at the back?

Namsoon: Yes.

Kwon: But you changed your mind when you got to high school...

Namsoon: Yes, kind of ... Well, I am the eldest son in our family ... and I will become

an adult soon now I've I entered high school...

Kwon: You are so right. Time flies ...

Namsoon: I was a bit scared about what would happen.

Kwon: As you began high school?

Namsoon: Yes.

Kwon: Like, how should I live in the future ... and so on?

Namsoon: Yes. Everything seems vague to me, so I thought I should at least listen and take part in classes. (interview_20120614_GoNamsoon)

From this field work, I would characterise the culture of *iljin* as a synthesis among pupils of deviant behaviours, indeed severe deviant behaviours. *Iljin* rarely feel guilty about taking expensive goods away from others. They say it is a bad thing to do but they are very happy to share their stories. They get a kick from buying cigarettes and alcohol as a symbolic victory against repressive adults and repressive laws. They run away if teachers or policemen catch them smoking or drinking, but they do not think that these are wrong, simply that they were unlucky.

School violence is certainly a critical cultural element of South Korean high schools. It has, according to my observations and interviews, become part of school culture, being deeply infused in student life. Delinquent teenagers are called *iljin* because they make groups like gangsters and use violence against other students. Moreover, their violence is often extremely cruel. The influences or causes of school violence vary but it looks clear from my research that it is now

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a critical aspect of school culture in general. Obviously, delinquent, gang-like, behaviour is not specifically a South Korean phenomenon. However, what is most striking about this type of gang-like behaviour, according to my findings, is (a) how deeply rooted it is in South Korean military history and traditions; and (b) how pervasive it is, such that even students who have progressed to being good, or at least well-meaning but not excellent, often have a previous *iljin* history to draw upon in exercising symbolic power in classrooms.

In this section, I have focused on themes which are all conducive to creating conflicts and furthering violence in South Korean schools. As I analysed my fieldnotes and interview questions, I pointed out critical examples of systemic and institutionalized habits buttressing conflict and violence. For instance, control mechanisms in relation to the examination system and daily habits of language use and attitudes based on violence and intolerance are acts of overt violence. All of these themes are, I submit, appropriate and reasonable in explaining how symbolized and institutionalized forms of violence generate cultures of violence in South Korean schools.

4.4 Authoritative school management and increasing atypical employment

In this section, I focus on the lives of teachers in schools and the corresponding formation of school cultures. Further, I observe how this relates to the cultures of violence illustrated above. To this end, I point out some important issues relating to the decline of teachers' authority, much discussed in South Korea during my

fieldwork period. Accordingly, I identify strong authoritative school management styles and the rigidly hierarchal educational influences on individual school management. Moreover, from my experience of being a temporary teacher, I look at the increased numbers of teachers under temporary contract.

Picture 2. Classroom photo

15th May is the national Teachers' Day. Schools organize official celebrations in order to thank teachers for their kindness. Students decorate their classrooms and prepare parties for teachers, giving them red carnation corsages and letters. However, for some years the celebration of Teachers' Day had been losing its meaning and people worry that the authority of teachers is crumbling (Kyeungin, 2012). Hence, I did not expect S high school to hold any events that day. To my surprise, as I entered the school, the whole atmosphere was unusual and I found that every student and teacher was engaged in special events in the hall. I waited in a corridor looking at the decorated classrooms. Suddenly, Minjae, one of the trouble-makers in class 8, appeared with his friend and said hello. They said they had escaped from the event and I could smell smoke as they passed. The appearance of Minjae showed that it was just 'a show-event' without meaning.

In reality, as my interviews with and observation of teachers revealed, they feel that their authority and rights are no longer respected and they have no say over what their task in schools should be. Not only is there no learner autonomy, there is no teacher autonomy either. Isoo even said that *procedural violence* is committed against teachers – the manager of the school piles all the responsibilities on the teachers, while if something goes wrong students and parents report teachers directly to the police, even to the presidential Blue House, rather than the school manager. Overall, many teachers say that it has become much harder to do their job.

Kwon: I think … teachers who have greater experience … find it harder to interact with students these days. Do you feel this? [Suchol: Sure!] And also I think there are some teachers who think that their authority has declined. What do you think?

Suchol: Well … authority … It's been ages since I gave up my authority [laughs]. It is not possible to maintain our authority over students these days. The new age music and their ways of thinking … and everything is too difficult for me to understand. I hardly sympathize with students these days. And it gets worse and worse. Realistically, I can't follow their new culture, music and everything. So I teach them in my own style. I think I gave up communicating with students and just teach them in my own style. (interview_20121127_InmoonHead)

Kwon: Well, there are many critiques about the human rights of students. Some argue that students turn against teachers easily and they are not afraid of teachers because of their human rights, bringing down the authority of teachers. The media report this, right? What do you think?

Won: Well … what happens in our society these days….I really can't accept it. For

example, how can students hit teachers … and how can parents come to school and violate the teacher's right to teach? This is all familiar from the media and newspapers. These things are also observed in our school. It is miserable. So I sometimes think that we should establish the authority of teachers. But do we need to pass a law about this? Is it acceptable according to social custom and traditional concepts? I am not sure. But I know everything has collapsed. So in some ways I think we should introduce a law to establish the authority of teachers. Otherwise, education as a whole might collapse … One should respect and be thankful to anyone who teaches … but a kid hitting a teacher! … That kid is not a student. He is not a student who can learn, but simply a lout. A student, someone who is willing to learn … doesn't exist. This social phenomenon represents the corruption of our society. We must get over this. (interview_20121127_Wonro)

The rise of overt school violence and the introduction of the Students' Ordinance for Human Rights caused a range of conflict situations in schools, as noted above. Some teachers argue that their authority has declined for the two reasons above. Teachers were used to being respected, even honoured in a Confucian way, by both students and parents, yet teachers now feel that they are students' slaves because of the neo-liberal values so quickly infused into the school system. According to the teachers interviewed, the culture of student and parent resistance, originating in human rights issues, is a cause of great concern and this culture is culturally a shock to teachers, not least those of the older generation.

Yuna: … Well … students, parents and society as a whole randomly adopted new concepts like human rights, democracy and being consumer-centred, and so on. So I think everything became too lax. And no one was prepared for it. So I think we are in

a transitional period. I mean that from the students' standpoint and the parents', they are supposed to become active educational participants and democratic agents. In principle, responsibility accompanies rights. But what we can see now is that students and parents stand on their rights without any responsibility. Many children have absorbed this habit uncritically. So they don't think about what they have done and try to change themselves, but just claim their rights. This trend has become normal in schools. Parents and students only assert their rights. So it is quite hard ... the teachers who were quite authoritative and used to taking power are culturally shocked by this new trend. (interview_20121121_6&7)

As society has changed, the position of teachers has become that of middle managers. They teach students and at the same time work as civil servants. As noted above, some people argue that students' human rights are violated because of the excessive time they spend in schools. Who looks after students at night? Teachers must. Teachers, high school teachers in particular, start work at 7 am and stay until 10 or 11pm, if they are on duty at self-study times. In their working day, they must teach students, take care of them, give consultations for them and finally, carry an administrative work-load.

Minsuk: To adjust to students is the most difficult task and then teachers usually complain about too much administrative work. Our society considers school as a place where work is done for the community, even some of the work which village offices should take goes to schools. For example, all kinds of political propaganda add to the school's task, like the day to hoist the national flag and ... like the five-day-school-week policy and so on. Schools must carry all the nation's propaganda, because it is actually very effective. House-to-house visits aren't needed to promote new policies, and so forth. We sometimes wonder why we should do this ... (interview_20120229_ChoiMinsuk)

Kwon: You are a form tutor and you teach your subjects … and I guess you will have a lot of paperwork. Aren't you busy?

Saechan: Yes. I am. In my first semester I had 20 hours of class instruction, a form to manage and other administrative work to cover … So in March and April … I had to stay in school until 11pm to get through my work.

Kwon: In order to finish your work?

Saechan: Yes. And because it was my first year, everything was new, so it took longer. So in the second semester, the hours of class instruction decreased but then they gave me more administrative work [laughs]. The administrative work was doubled. But it is not only me who has this load of work. All young teachers do. (interview_20121127_8)

The administrative assignments come from the government. The principal receives them and ask each departmental chair to distribute the work to teachers. Usually, the youngest teachers take almost all the responsibility of dealing with this. It is a cultural matter. An old teacher will not accept the duty of dealing with administrative work. This ensures respect; an old teacher is respected by younger teachers. Young, usually female, teachers also typically prepare coffee and tea for all the teachers.

According to my data, a South Korean high school is not democratic but hierarchical. The management of schools is authoritative; thus teachers are used to being prescriptive to pupils in the same way as the school authorities are prescriptive towards them. This causal relationship of distributing duties, emerging from my research, sounds understandable. Since management controls

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and issues orders to teachers, who are trained to comply, they will manage students in the same way. This is what country and custom ask them to do. But teachers see themselves increasingly as civil servants rather than as educational leaders who teach actively and creatively. Therefore, while teachers criticize some official policies, in the end they follow them.

Saeyoung: … In developing the policy, teachers were critical subjects to engage, like students and parents. But actually teachers cannot admit their rights. Teachers should catch up with new social trends and discover what role they can play. But we are not used to that. So we just follow orders, resist somehow, but ultimately as civil servants we merely obey the policy … (interview_20121121_Multiculture)

Teachers are asked to complete what they find excessive amounts of administration, but, at the same time, are expected to teach their students well to enhance their academic achievement – to enter the best universities. Here, teachers must compete against private instructors. In addition, teachers have been asked to transform themselves. That is, a teacher's traditional right to control and punish students by corporal punishment is now prohibited. As described in section 4.3.1, teachers may use only a penalty point system to manage or control their classrooms. This is such an immense change in school culture, but was decided by the Office of Education without consultation and delivered to teachers as an order. As noted earlier, teachers' sum up this change as 'controlling the means of control'. They feel helpless because their old ways of educating children are now all controlled and decided on what they perceive as armchair arguments. Teachers

were not adequately prepared for the new culture and they complain that those who do not know classroom conditions imposed it on them.

Kwon: I talked with some students and they told me that corporal punishment is much better than the penalty system…

Saeyoung: I agree with them. Our society tries to shrink the power of teachers while expanding the rights of students and parents. I don't mean that these are wrong. But in the process of making it materialise, people who have no idea of the situation – administrative workers – planned and imposed it on us, typically top-down. Since it is very oppressive, the gap between the reality and the policy is getting wider and wider. I would argue that the meaning of corporal punishment is not about the right to hit students but about the right to discipline them. Teachers do not hit students mechanically. Corporal punishment sort of symbolizes to students that teachers are the ones who can discipline them. But this symbol has been taken away (by the government), so now we [control students] mechanically. So the traditional affection between teachers and students disappears, we just give out penalty points automatically. We give the penalty points and identify the students mechanically. So I would say the more effort put into making schools democratic, the more dehumanized they've become. We can't sympathize with students in this situation. When the society gives teachers power and rights, education is moving on the right track, because we know far better than students about education and we are the ones who lead students. So [society should] give us the power to do our work, which we don't have at present. That's why school has become worse than private institutions. Students come to school because society requires them to do so. If they are lucky enough to meet a teacher who can understand them, it's good, but if not, they will think that schools are just schools … and they don't expect anything from schools and complain more and more.   (interview_20121121_Multiculture)

Samjae: Well, in terms of introducing a policy … for example, if the problem of

corporal punishment had become a social problem, our society tended to generalize it – the violence of teachers. So to counteract this, society bans corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is not about hitting. If a teacher hits students violently, there is a law to punish him. So rather than abolishing corporal punishment as a whole ... I mean, teachers are not ready to accept this sudden change. We need time to prepare ... because teachers were just denounced as people who treated students with violence and blamed them. Many have now given up (regarding their students). In the past, we had a chance to embrace students if they went wrong by punishing them out of love ...There are occasions where students can talk through their difficulties and there are some occasions when whipping is required ... and now we've lost this recourse. (interview_20121121_6&7)

Meanwhile, the number of temporary contract teachers has increased (Park, 2012). Temporary contract teachers are sometimes involved in administrative work but are often exempted. This totally depends on the departmental chairperson. In term-time, they receive the same pay but no yearly contract. This is because the school prefers not to pay teachers during the summer and winter holidays. Surprisingly, public and private schools adopt exactly the same policies in dealing with temporary employees.

Kwon: Okay ... Are you a temporary teacher here?

Injae: No. I am categorized as a full-time teaching intern. The Lee Myungbak administration devised strange job-titles and 'full time intern' is one of them. For English classes, they can employ temporary teachers, an English specialist, English conversation specialist – the one who is with the Wonro teacher in the other office, who wears glasses, she is this teacher – and then part-time lecturers and a full-time teaching intern. So I am that, but under the surface I'm the same as a lecturer.

Kwon: What do you mean? Do you get paid hourly?

Injae: Yes, hourly.

Kwon: but you stay in school the whole day, don't you?

Injae: That's because I'm a full-time intern. So they pay me hourly but it depends on what kind of school head you meet. In the case of my head of department, he told me that I can come to school before my class and when it is finished I can go home. That's what he said, but I usually have classes from the first period to the seventh almost every day. That's why I stay in school almost the whole day. But I can go home if my class finishes early. There's another teaching intern in another department but her head has told her that she should be working in school until 4 in the afternoon. So she always stays in school until then, even when she has no class.

Kwon: I see. Do you also get administrative work to do?

Injae: Not much. I sometimes do some work for the English department. In fact, I shouldn't set exam questions. But because I teach with other teachers, I have contributed some questions. And Mr Shin does almost everything for the English department, so when he asks me to help, I do a little. But I don't usually do much administrative work.

Kwon: I see. But if you stay here from the first period to the last, you may not have classes all the time. When you're not teaching, you don't get paid even if you stay in school ... right?

Injae: No, I am not paid for those hours. (interview_20121127_JungInjae)

Because temporary contract teachers have no contractual obligation to do administrative work in schools, this burden is now all shouldered by a small number of regular but junior teachers.

Bongsu has no class in the third period. So Bongsu and Shin and I are in the office … Two teachers are working there. Suddenly Bonsu asks Shin, 'How did it go?' As their conversation proceeded, I worked out that the principal of this school had set in motion work for an international exchange programme. Shin is worried because he might be given responsibility for the whole task. Bongsu told him that if no other department is appropriate for a new project, Humanities Education takes it. He asks about other teachers in schools and discovers that they are all on temporary contracts. Bongsu worries about the large number of temporary teachers and that the excessive workload will fall on the few regular teachers. Shin is a new teacher and a form tutor. He seems to have a lot of work already. So he said, 'I really can't take it. I didn't become a teacher to do such tasks.' (fieldnote_20120405)

Furthermore, the increase in atypical employment creates an odd situation in schools. Those teachers are easily intimidated because of their precarious position.

Injae: To be honest, I don't use penalty points a lot. I used them a few times … I used them when students come to class without notice … Well, because I am not a permanent teacher, I feel uncomfortable imposing penalty points on students. It bothers me. Maybe other temporary teachers wouldn't feel the same, but I feel a bit hesitant to hand them out … I know I should do it … but … I just tell them to stop making up or whatever. (interview_20121127_JungInjae)

Some teachers said to me that students are the main reason for the fall of teachers' authority. Others would not agree and ascribe the situation more to excessive control from above. In addition, the new consumer-centred values and some purportedly democratic ones seem to contrast markedly with some of the

traditional virtues of South Korean society. Moreover, the overall increase in temporary positions also influences the employment system in schools. In other words, teachers have suffered a social transformation as well as a school transformation. Unfortunately, however, teachers are not ready to adapt to such changes; they feel victimised by them. As teachers told me, the authoritative management style of schooling is now mingled with new values – Western, neo-liberal, etc. – and this mixture is pushing teachers into chaos, stripping them of their authority.

This section has shown how new social norms and sensitivities have been directly imposed on school structures and cultures. For instance, as described above, while the fall of teachers' authority originates partly from reaction to a strongly authoritarian school system, the teachers, controlled by the system, in turn control students similarly. That is, teachers who feel under pressure pass this pressure on to students. This being so, teachers are prone to transmitting socially imposed values to students. This illuminates the cultures of violence in South Korean schools as they interrelate and are interwoven.

4.5 How to change the culture of violence to peace: any possibilities of peace education?

In this section, I want to explore the possibilities of changing today's school culture. As I conducted the fieldwork, I realized that both students and teachers recognize the need to change, for better education and better lives. In effect, when

I first met Minsuk and Bongsu, they said that the school needs transformation and therefore allowed their classrooms to be used for fieldwork. To illustrate, Minsuk, who did his Master's degree in peace education, strongly urged the need to apply peace education in schools. Bongsu, as he listened to my research plan, also said that violence and other problems in schools cannot be resolved without examining their profounder causes. He added, 'I don't know much about peace education but I am pretty sure that students need to learn skills like conflict resolution right now'.

As they said, there are voices demanding change. They suggest different things, but all ask for a change of values and attitudes. In particular, teachers maintain that the students' characters have lately become problematic – even Minsuk said jokingly, 'Students these days are animals'. He explained that today's students have no space to express themselves but play computer games alone and live in small families, either alone or with one or two siblings; thus they hardly ever *socialize* with others. Hence, teachers feel that, as well as changing the education system, developing students' characters and personal morality is critical. How can teachers foster students' moral awareness and build character with the skills for peaceful relationships, first in schools and later in society? That is, how can we change the culture of violence to a culture of peace? From my interviews with teachers, I identified five strategies in peace education – ways of transforming the culture of violence. I elaborate upon these possibilities and others in Chapter 5.

First of all, teachers criticize the current educational system as based on neo-liberal values – making students more competitive, individual-focused,

instrumentalist, achievement-centred and so on. While criticizing the present values and system imposed on schools, they recommend cooperative educational activities. Teachers feel sorry that parents exclusively demand study-focused school lives and ask schools to reduce other school activities. Teachers think that this kind of emphasis will rob students of all enjoyment and intrinsic interest. They want diverse events, such as school festivals, intramural athletic meetings, school picnics to be restored to schools, finding the cause of conflict, violence and other problems in the lack of group activities which develop the values of cooperation and understanding of others. This strategy is perhaps based on nostalgia for a past which South Korean schools may or may not have shared.

Wonro: We ask students just to study. So they have no fun, exciting memories of school life. People study on their own. Some say that cooperative learning is possible, but in this competitive, examination-focused situation, who studies with others? Anyway, students would not learn how to live socially by doing cooperative activities. What is school? Isn't school a place to build social relationships, forming peer relationships? ... School is a place where students experience the diversity of the world ... but now this has all disappeared. Schools should be at least places where students can learn to form their lives wisely, no? ... Everything's become competitive and quantifiable, even when we encounter the attitudes and behaviours of students ... (interview_20121127_Wonro)

Nanhee: I disagree about basing the method of punishment on results. If we install CCTV or bring school police to resolve bullying problems? Well ... we should punish students for misbehaviour ... but ... you know there is a culture. I think ... we should reflect on how that culture has been created ... I think we need to explore how this culture was created, how we can change it ... For example, if we have a subject-class

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system, the problem of bullying shrinks ... Then, I think, more importantly, activities – group activities – should be encouraged. In the past, we had poetry exhibitions prepared by students ... and class chorus tournaments, athletic events and ... home-making and suchlike. All these activities make students do things together and resolve problems together ... I think this is really needed. (interview_20121127_YooNanhee)

Second, teachers, in particular those of the older generation, emphasize the value of *chung* which in turn implies building sympathy towards others, understanding differences from others and caring for each other, etc. Overall, it is a humane value on which, according to many, the original Korean culture was built. Given that the individualistic, selfish disrespect of others is now part of school culture, generating conflict and violence, it seems reasonable to teach students about this value and lead them to reflect on it. However, this strategy also involves some sort of return to a more unspoiled past.

At lunch one day with some teachers, including Wonro and Bongsu, Wonro was curious about my study in the UK and asked, 'Are schools in the UK free? I was a bit embarrassed but I sensed what kind of answer they expected. So I cautiously replied, 'Yes, in terms of wearing uniforms, hair-styles ... I think they are free, but I am not quite sure about the whole education system.' Then he and the other social studies teacher started to discuss Confucian ways of thinking and *chung*, the value of sharing. Wonro said, 'Western values are based on individualism and their religion; they conflict with our traditional values.' The social studies teacher said that current schooling is a Western system, so it is bound to conflict with Korean traditional values. They somehow linked the values of human rights and the penalty points system to a Western value system.

Therefore, they criticized the encouraging of students' human rights in schools as the creation of a formal system without *chung*. They find it 'not humane at all.' While one may disagree with their belief that corporal punishment is one way of showing humane relationships between teachers and students based on *chung*, it seems vital to examine how traditional Korean values, retrieved and reconstituted, may build cultures of peace in schools.

Third, teachers mentioned that teachers need to have some sort of preparation for changing their mind-sets and learning the skills to build sound relationships with students. To begin with, existing teachers need training, education and psychological therapy to challenge the status quo and take action to help them participate in bringing change.

Minsuk: Well … even I have severe stress … for example, if my relationship with parents is bad … if parents are pushing me … the level of stress … (steadily rises) … and if my relationship with students … my wife told me once that the level of stress among teachers going into class is almost as high as for soldiers going into battle. So … guess – if that stress isn't relieved … it would become unbearable … humane relationships are difficult … But we cannot force students to change … that is, it should be the teachers who would lead in bringing change to schools … It is a very difficult task. A number of meetings have produced methods for changing the culture, understanding students and so on … Above all, teachers should practise control over their own minds. Honestly, it is really difficult for me, but it is very important. It's about human relationships. How can I take lessons if my relationship with the students is bad? It would be terrible. I wouldn't want to go into class. Everything depends on teachers, and people say this problem should be tackled by individual teachers … but no … teachers need practice, training and all sorts of things to exercise mind control. There are some movements looking for a way through communities. So

there is some hope. You know, it is a matter of survival, people's personal happiness. (interview_20120229_ChoiMinsuk)

Samjae: Anyway, the values of human rights have entered schools and teachers should adjust themselves to the students … So, if we take in-service training courses, programmes such as emotional coaching have increased. It is a change. You know, teachers also feel desperate and they need to have some training to open up the situation and overcome their problems. This way, teachers can get nearer to students. Otherwise, how can teachers be humane to them? This year was hard but important for me. I approached students by learning how to control my anger. So now I am good with those trouble-makers in my classes. And they changed. You know, those three make-up girls. They got involved in the school festival doing free hugs. In the first semester they never joined in school activities but this semester they've changed. And those guys who refused to have a dialogue are now willing to talk with me if they need.

Yuna: Well, every school is different. School is a sort of organism … so it is different every year, different in students and teachers … And if we want peace education in schools, first of all, the system should be transformed and we, the teachers, need to be re-educated. We need to heal ourselves … then we can open our minds to students. We do need training … we can't avoid it. Not the superficial programme … the paradigm itself should be changed. It's the urgent need of our time. In order to become real agents of education and in order to live in this society, we need to train ourselves to take care of our students and their injuries. (interview_20121121_6&7)

Fourth, both teachers and students agree that the basic need is to change the control mechanisms embedded in schools.

Saeyoung: Well, my opinion is … high schools now … the awareness of present high

school students in South Korea is … not even like students in the USA … but at the high school level we should not control our students. They all grew up and learned their rights and duties as they went through middle school … so we should not control them as they were controlled in primary and middle school. So, I think having a form tutor for each class should be abolished. Teachers should teach only their subjects … and we should have obligatory subjects and a wide range of cultural and liberal studies … just like university students … students should have freedom to choose the subjects they would like to study. (interview_20121121_Multiculture)

Haerim also said that she does not understand why teachers think they should punish students. Dayoon also said 'I don't have any teacher I feel I am scared of. We are all different – teachers don't need to have every student under their thumb, I think. We all have different values and personalities. How can we be treated like just one person in a class?' In effect, many students expressed in their answers that they feel oppressed, controlled as they enter the school and that it is violence that worries them. Therefore, it was quite understandable for Haerim and Dayoon to ask vehemently, 'Why do we need to be punished and controlled?'

Both students and teachers acknowledge that the existing control mechanisms are creating problems in schools and should be transformed. They did not share any single view on ways to change those mechanisms, but it was apparent that students and teachers know that education based on control mechanisms should not continue. As they said, unless things change, symbolic and institutionalized violence in schools will be reproduced, regenerated and/or created in combination with the diverse values infused into school systems.

Last, teachers perceive the need to work with local communities, to

strengthen solidarity. Teachers are all aware that educational problems cannot be resolved by the efforts of the school alone. Schools should create solidarity with local communities, not only through educational activities but also for the purpose of taking care of students.

Saeyoung: We should work together with local communities; we should think how to embrace them. This is the re-establishment of communities. For this purpose, schools should be smaller … now they are too big … and schools should be free of central authority. With their own autonomy … schools will naturally ask local communities to help. Because schools answer to central government, teachers are kept busy with paperwork … schools should be freed from central government and work together with parents and locals … For example, why should central government have the right to select students? Schools should have it. Then we can work with parents and local communities. (interview_20121121_Multiculture)

The media and the general public tend to blame schools and teachers for all the violence in schools, but teachers say that they cannot resolve the problem themselves. They need collaboration from parents and other community institutions. As Lee said, it seems very difficult to achieve solidarity in children's education with the current system. Teachers know that this must be changed.

In this section, I have explored the possibilities of introducing a change towards peace education. Through my interviews, I realized that teachers and students perceive and/or know of ways to start the change. The consciousness of the need to bring the values of cooperation, solidarity, understanding, sympathy and the right to expand freedom in schools is considered critical by teachers and

students alike. In sum, teachers and students know that more humane relationships and human basic rights and needs must be given priority. All of these are critical in employing peace education (recall Chapter 2). This reflects *the hope* that schools will find a way to change the culture of violence to a culture of peace. Furthermore, it became clearer that systematic peace education is needed in order to take action to bring these values into school classrooms.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I explored the relevant school culture by analysing the experiences of students and teachers as recorded through my qualitative research. The description of the cultures of students and teachers represents their interrelations; it is the interaction of these cultures that produces the general school culture. As described, this chapter has focused on individual lives, thoughts and experiences observed and shared by the researcher and the participants.

To illustrate, the second section of this chapter described how students spend their day in schools. Resistance/conformity, being helpless, studying controversial issues without interest and making 'deals' in class form the daily experience of students in schools. These features appeared clearer as they connected to the more symbolized and institutionalised (and more specifically localized South Korean) forms explored in the third section.

The forms of culture found in this research cause various conflicts among

students, among teachers and between students and teachers. The conflicts create violent forms of culture in schools. For instance, when mobiles and make-up in classes are controlled by teachers, students react very violently by employing abusive language and attitudes. This is an aspect of resistance which can be found among trouble-making students. In addition, control mechanisms perpetuate the conflicts between students and teachers which can be seen in the use of the penalty point system. Teachers experience conflicts from new social norms and expectations, but within a still authoritative school context. This situation forces them to behave as society asks, but conflicts with their need for self-respect and respect from others. Teachers do feel that their authority has shrunk and it is now even more difficult to be a school-teacher.

However, a glimmer of hope has emerged. Teachers and students are aware that change in schools is inescapable. They argue that schools should bring in cooperative activities and a humane value based on sympathy, affection and understanding for others. Teachers ask for educational training as well as psychological therapies to face these changes. Lastly, teachers ask for solidarity with local communities to work together for education. This implies that authoritative schools should be transformed into more democratic, community-based institutions. These suggestions justify the introduction of peace education, as I discuss further in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION:

HOW VIOLENCE IS SYMBOLICALLY PRACTISED AND HOW PEACE EDUCATION CAN SUGGEST A WAY OF CHANGING IT.

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss critically the findings from Chapter 4 by linking them to the theoretical background from Chapter 2. In the previous chapter, data were analysed from a critical ethnographical perspective, informed by the theories of symbolic violence and peace education. As discussed in Chapter 2, symbolic violence refers to hidden unseen power which makes people internalize socially imposed values through misrecognizing them or accepting them under a false consciousness. The internalized values become the *habitus* of the individuals, thus forming a general culture of violence. As explored in Chapter 4, the *habitus* of students and teachers in the South Korean schools studied seems very much controlled by external social values and systems, yet they are hardly conscious of being controlled and/or forced to behave and think in such ways. In keeping with Bourdieu's thesis, this suggests that the underlying causes of the imposed culture of violence, if unexplored and/or routinized, continue to reproduce and create new forms of violence in schools.

However much society changes for the better and however

enthusiastically such new concepts as democracy, human rights and multiculturalism are introduced into schools, it seems logical to question whether this will prevent schools from encouraging different forms of violent approaches to students and teachers and help them transform a violent to a more peaceful environment. In order to answer this question, this chapter, following the same sequence of ideas as the previous chapter, examines the root causes of the culture of violence in schools by linking micro- and macro-experiences. Thus, *selected cultural elements, symbolic and institutionalised violence, authoritative management* and *atypical employment* are all discussed and framed within the theories of symbolic violence and peace education. Both theories will be applied analytically as well as theoretically. Finally, some possible ways of introducing peace education into schools are discussed through a discourse on values education.

This chapter is organised into the following sections: first, *school habitus, experienced as necessary in the field;* second, *symbolic violence in classrooms: misrecognizing the procedures of education;* and third, *defining peace in classrooms;* fourth, *pedagogical change, the possible educative remedy of transforming individuals to contribute to a culture of peace*. The following discussion shows how the findings explored in Chapter 4 confirm the chosen theories, how they add something new to them and finally how the findings sometimes create a tension with the theories.

The last part of the chapter offers a summary of the discussion on the harmony between findings and theories in this thesis. Moreover, having shown the relevance of peace education to the school culture in South Korea, it suggests how

this can be included in a transformative approach to the present situation.

5.2 Discussion 1: School *habitus* experienced as necessary in the field

In this section, some cultural elements of classrooms will be discussed. As explained in Chapter 4, the students observed were divided roughly into two groups: bad students and good students (with an intermediary group in between). Bad students often contravene school regulations. Their behaviours are identified by teachers in S high school as showing *helplessness*. What bad students do is use their mobiles, apply make-up, sleep during class time or stay in a daze. All of these are considered *misbehaviours* according to school regulations and also to social norms. In practice, it may be asked why these behaviours in school are designated 'misbehaviours'. For example, it is questionable why students should not have long hair or dyed hair, what the relationship is between the use of mobile phones and participation in class and how this relationship can be explained. I would question whether this is a matter of individual students' habits or of the structure and discipline of the class. It should be thoroughly examined rather than dismissed out of hand as mere 'misbehaviour'. As shown in Chapter 4, the relevant behaviour is systematic and institutional; it cannot be cured simply by 'fixing the kids'.

As discussed in Section 2.2, *habitus* implies internalized values and custom and other similar drivers of behaviour imposed on individuals. Individuals construct their *habitus* within the rubric of a *social field* – the community, school

or church, and by extension, of a whole society. In other words, individuals create their *habitus* on the basis of their experiences as refracted through the prism of the prevailing social values and systems. Moreover, individuals in the given field have their *habitus* created for them. Clearly, according to the data, educational traditions and schools in South Korea have created certain values and systematic norms which seem to be infused deeply into students' everyday school lives. That is to say, students have built their *habitus* on the basis of the standard system of schooling, a system which presupposes and reflects socially expected values and norms. As we saw in Chapter 4, many students experience those very values and norms as repressive and alienating, creating a school culture of disengagement and disenfranchisement. It is overly simplistic to describe such a culture as merely representing 'bad' individual or collective behaviour.

The school is recognized in South Korean society as a place where all children can (in principle) get (equal) opportunities to study and prepare a better future for themselves. This being so, school gains symbolic power and authority from embodying this high-minded ideal. This logic is even stronger in South Korea in today's rapid economic development (see Section 2.4). Under this ideal, their behaviour and attitudes in school become a critical standard for judging people and forecasting their future. Thus, a student who does well and behaves well in school is considered to have a good personality and bright future; hence, students who identify with this ideal are likely to build their *habitus* according to such socially accepted values, norms and/or common-sense. Therefore, those students try to behave well in class and believe that teachers will give them some kind of reward for doing so, following the prevailing 'dealing' norms and school

regulations.

Once inside the classroom, students are expected to sit still and study exactly as teachers instruct. Those who refuse to study can be punished for breaking classroom rules. Teachers will also typically predict a gloomy future for them. This forces students to accept this norm and/or the rules – many of which, from the students' perspective, are unnecessary and imposed upon them by teachers. Usually, 'good' students become passively *conformist* – that is, they try to behave as told in order to avoid punishment and win recognition. Put simply, they tend to become pliant and uncritical students. By doing so, they believe that they will have a better future because they will develop their abilities to perform well and thus be likely to enter a prestigious university. The students whom I met in S high school believe that there is no other way to live in South Korea (see Section 4.2.1). They study not because they enjoy it intrinsically but because of forces systematically imposed on them. This is what I would call the *habitus* experienced as 'necessary' for students to have while in school.

As Jenkins (2002) points out, each *field* (here, school) has a different logic and structure of necessity and therefore individuals must have a specific and appropriate *habitus* suited to the *field in question*. As explained above, students are required, or rather forced, to become conformist. Those who yield to this external power, the so-called good students, have no doubt that studying in schools will guarantee them a better future. In addition, the good students in S high school hardly question whether teachers should have power or authority over students; without it, schools would no longer be peaceful. These students already have the *necessary habitus* appropriate to South Korean schools. That is to say, by

having such *habitus* the relationship between schooling and compulsion becomes possible and then necessary for education (Harber, 2004).

In contrast, there are bad students who *resist* these norms and their enforcement in schools. Interestingly, these are students who do not have the above *necessary habitus* but have somehow developed a *contradictory habitus* which is recognized as not appropriate to the school system, but still accepted implicitly as a 'necessary evil' in schools. For example, the trouble-makers in S high school do not stay still and follow teachers' instructions in class. When a class begins, they decide not to take part and behave in the 'helpless' ways previously noted. Aware that it is against school regulations, they play hide-and-seek with teachers and, once caught, *resist* them. However, as mentioned in the analysis, they feel no guilt at what they are doing, only the unluckiness of being caught. Their resistance is very much habitual and it seems as if they were trained to behave so. In this analysis, resistance implies counter-conformist attitudes which reject what schools and teachers expect of students in class. Yet, paradoxically, those counter-conformist attitudes also conform to an accepted pattern, but one of a different kind. Even the deviant behaviour is thus institutionalised and implicitly regulated and therefore normalised (Epp and Watkinson, 1996; Olssen, 2006). Normalisation, in Foucault's understanding, for example, is a form of bio-power which stands for the collective macro-social functions of power-knowledge in the regulation and investigation of populations. Therefore, 'it aims to regulate individuals through increasingly rational means … regulate populations by describing, defining, and delivering the forms of normality and educability' (Foucault, 1980). Interestingly also, the 'good' students

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who have lapsed temporarily into deviance but returned to accepted behaviour have higher symbolic standing within the peer group, as evidence in Section 4.3.4 on 'graduate *iljin*'.

The reasons for the resistance from the 'bad' students vary – from private reasons to cultural reasons. Some scholars argue that a poor family background causes their misbehaviour because for them family discipline is failing, while others maintain that the critical influence is the generation gap generated by the Internet, games and so on (Kim et al., 2008; 2010). These are reasonable explanations, as far as they go, and it is apparent from my field notes that, whatever its cause, resistance is a key element for trouble-makers in forming their own sub-culture and building friendships (Alexander, 2000; Willis, 1977; Wyness, 2006). A sub-culture can be simply understood as a micro-culture which can explain what people and groups do within a mainstream culture and what this culture does to people (Alexander, 2000). In this respect, it is interesting to note that resistance is a key to the forming of a sub-culture among these trouble-makers, and that this sub-culture takes up a critical proportion of the culture in a classroom. The problem with the socio-historical explanations given by Kim et al. (2008; 2010) is that they do not engage the deeper *symbolic meaning* that deviance has acquired for the trouble-makers; what they do with this resistance, and how they use it as a means to their ends.

Resistance by students in class is recognized as impolite, disruptive of peace, inelegant, stupid and hopeless; therefore other (good) students and teachers designate the future of the trouble-makers as dark – that they are unlikely to go to the good universities, likely to have low-income jobs and so on. Despite the fact

that the trouble-makers agree that their future is hopeless, they simply present such behaviours as if resistance were their expected and normalised contribution to the class output. Accordingly, the trouble-makers in S high school know that their behaviours contravene school regulations but it seems reasonable to infer that they think they have no choice but to behave in this way, in order to raise any sense of their existence in class and to give some meaning to their very existence there. That is, by resisting teachers they feel that they display some symbolic power, albeit temporary and fleeting. In addition, resistance justifies the reasons for not participating in class, in other words, not studying. The trouble-makers whom I met in S high school were devoid of hope from the beginning because they felt unable to compete with the good students who have studied hard since primary school (interview_20120621_LeeDayoon). In sum, the trouble-makers unconsciously give up studying and/or participating in class as soon as they enter high school because they know that they cannot catch up with the good students, and that no one seriously expects them to, either. Dayoon, for instance, said that it is too late for them to study. In this regard, I would argue that system and culture compel them here to build their *resistant-habitus* in class.

South Korean society is notorious for its *educational fever,* which causes intensive preparatory learning (see Section 2.4). That is, children have private tutoring and/or go to private institutions to learn things beyond the curriculum for their school grade. For instance, Heungsoo said that when he was a primary student, he was in a special education class for the gifted, so he learned high-school level mathematics and sciences. Being sick of studying, he became *iljin* when he entered middle school. Because preparatory learning is a trend in South

Korea, if students do well in earlier levels of schooling, they are expected to do well in high school, which guarantees entry to an elite university. This is why many parents spend immense amounts of money on private tutoring and similar provision for their children (see Section 2.4.1). Otherwise, a student is likely at some stage to fail. This socially shared understanding is directly imposed on the *habitus* formed by students. In this situation, the trouble-makers choose to resist rather than conform in class, because it is meaningless for them to act in conformity. This is why they have no guilt about being helpless in class. Many of the *iljin* students seem to unconsciously accept their 'destiny' of being hopeless. Yet they elevate this hopelessness to the status of a sub-culture with its own norms, values and tokens of power. This phenomenon is fully in line with Bourdieu's theory, underlying the way in which people vie for symbolic power and – if conformist avenues are closed – often find ingenious ways of securing it, with the non-conformist ways then becoming normalised and by this means overtly regulated. Each social field –schooling, in this case – thus accommodates a number of different sorts of *habitus* for different types of social agents: normalised conformists and normalised non-conformists alike.

Within these contrasting sub-cultures in class, both groups of students have learned only to absorb knowledge, rather than thinking critically. Both groups of students have no deep, profound questions about studying; it is for them an essentially unproblematic activity that one can decide either to engage in or ignore. They will, without hesitation, agree that they 'should' study to ensure a better future. In order to earn high examination scores, they should know certain things which are likely to feature on question-papers. Students in S high school

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have been trained to think that knowledge and/or information irrelevant to examinations is unimportant and thus, for example, controversial issues which require critical thinking are none of their business (see Section 4.2.3).

This situation has been criticized by many educationalists and it has remained almost unchanged for last decades or more (Kang, 2002; Kim, 2002). Experts commonly criticize South Korean teachers for not training students to think critically, thus making them uncompetitive in the global market. However, from my perspective, this instrumental disadvantage is not the main concern; rather it is the intrinsic moral issue of raising exclusively self-interested, instrumental adults. Avoiding controversial issues nurtures students' *habitus of self-interest*. They are taught to think about selfish benefits alone. Global issues only matter if they directly affect 'me'. They are taught to close their eyes and ears to other people's situations – to any wider socio-political issues. The way that students develop such *habitus* replicates the background of their teachers, in which they in their turn developed a similar school *habitus*. Without any political or philosophical intervention – say, from the ideals of peace education which I have been pursuing in this thesis – the process of normalisation thus becomes uninterrupted and self-perpetuating.

This self-absorbed outlook is justified by the statement in the Fundamentals of Education Act, Article 6: 'education should be politically neutral.' To keep it neutral, teachers and other school officials are forbidden in class to express their socio-political opinions, derived from political ideologies, religion and so on. A case in point was the dismissal of those teachers who opposed a government policy: a national standard test for primary students (see

Section 2.4.2). At the time, the government and others criticized the teachers in question for being 'political'. After this judicial statement, students began to think that all teachers were political if they tried to raise controversial issues in class. Significantly, teachers who belong to the Korean Teachers' Union are considered 'political' by schools and so some students and parents would rather not have such teachers as their form tutors.

In educational terms, a politically neutral self is considered best. No consideration is given to the fact that political neutrality is a political position in itself: an endorsement of the status quo. And what purports to be politically neutral knowledge is handed out as 'knowledge necessary for their future' – and is indeed examined. However, education is in its very nature not neutral but political (Apple, 1990; Harber, 2009). More precisely, neutrality is false and the knowledge learned in schools is value-laden. That is to say;

> 'neutrality ignores the claims that the knowledge that now gets into schools is already a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles. It is a form of cultural capital that comes from somewhere, that often reflects the perspectives and beliefs of powerful segments of our social collectivity. In its very production and dissemination as a public and economic commodity – as books, films, materials and so forth – it is repeatedly filtered through ideological and economic commitments. Social and economic values, hence, are already embedded in the design of the institutions we work in, in the 'formal corpus of school knowledge' we preserve in our curricula, in our modes of teaching and in our principles, standards and forms of evaluation. Since these values now work *through* us, often unconsciously, the issue is not how to stand above the choice. Rather, it is in what values I must ultimately choose' (Apple, 1990, p. 8).

Students in South Korea are unconsciously trained to memorize and internalize social values through examinations. In addition, owing to a history of being colonized, warfare and dictatorship, political discourse was banned in schools, with the result that students unconsciously believe that schools should be

politically neutral – that is, should be places where controversial issues irrelevant to examinations are not mentioned. This explanation is reasonable when we look at the role of schooling in colonial countries – for instance, colonialism in education is about conditioning people to supply the needs and feed the ideologies of foreign invaders, the dominant agents. Students enmeshed in this ideology deny their indigenous culture, in other words, their own contextual culture, and instead absorb certain values, norms and knowledge to fit into the colonial regime. Students believe that this is the way they should follow so as to live a superior life; otherwise, they become inferior (Altbach and Kelly, 1978). In addition, under dictatorships, the authoritarian government was not to be criticized and schools had to focus on the ideology of economic development (see Sections 2.3 and 2.4). All these historical experiences are reflected in students' ignoring controversial, or rather political, issues in school in order to study for their own future.

Unlike Apple (1990)'s ideal, South Korean students at present have no space or skills to discuss, let alone choose, what values society should impart and know. Rather, the status quo is encouraged by building the *habitus* of *dealing* (as unpicked in Section 4.2.4) in every learning process. In order to survive in school, where all evaluation is based on the idea of individual merit, students learn to think about their grades above all. Thus, I chose the term 'dealing' because students have now built their *habitus* of always wanting something perceptible, whatever it may be, and tangible in return for their effort. The motivation for learning that I witnessed in my observations and interviews was extrinsic rather than intrinsic, although some exceptions such as Saeil, did not care much about points and rewards but was eager to learn something new and interesting. It was

also apparent in my observations that students sometimes 'negotiate' with teachers, for example, to reduce their penalty points if they answer a question. This *habitus* reflects how South Korean society has grown to prize individual merit – defined in mercenary rather than moral terms – above everything else, in the course of developing individuals as well as the country. The elitism and meritocracy aimed at amassing economic and social capital are the bases of the *hakbul society* in South Korea; thus schools are symbolised as *fields* where individuals can make themselves fit for initiation into *hakbul* society (see Section 2.4). As a consequence, students want to get even higher grades and more rewards. Along with the *habitus* of becoming conformist and absorbing knowledge without critical thinking, students have to know how to 'deal' with teachers in a cunning, calculating way so that they can gain more benefits, otherwise they might lose to their competitors.

As discussed in Section 4.2.4, all of these elements of culture influence the teaching-learning process, which rejects collaborative work. Competition, elitism and meritocracy split students into either conformists or defiers. Accordingly, good students in S high school prefer to study individually so that they can get good grades and bad ones prefer it because it exempts them from participating. I argue that all this results in creating and maintaining the *dehumanization* of the learning process. I frame it within the concept of dehumanization (Freire, 1970) because it has driven out human interaction and/or any humane understanding among students. That is, in order to live successfully as a school student, children have learned to adopt selfish and at the same time uncritical but obedient principles, which make them manageable agents of

governance. This was shown in the questionnaire – when asked to describe their school lives students answered 'We are mechanics!; Compete! You die and I shall live'.

By using the term 'mechanics', the students arguably want to show that they are used to obedience – in this case, to studying as instructed rather than thinking about their own intrinsic interests and interacting with others. As an example of this, Saeil, in his interview, automatically replied, 'I want to achieve more because I want to go to a top university.' But when asked why he wanted to attend a top university, he answered, 'to get a good job!' He did not know what he wanted to do in the future but he replied as if his life had been completely pre-determined in advance. This situation naturally links to students' understanding of what it means to compete for survival, as revealed by the questionnaire. In order to live in this society, students unquestionably believe that survival obliges them to compete with one another. Studying in such circumstances makes students uncomfortable and they do not think of studying to satisfy their own curiosity. But, as Darder (2002) argues on the basis of Freire's theory of the love of pedagogy, studying should make students curious to discover more.

Such states of affairs (of instrumentalization and the abandonment of the intrinsic value of education) are criticized by Freire (1970) as dehumanized education: education is mechanically perceived or experienced by students and teachers, living under socially oppressive rules. In the present society they compete to make themselves better lives, and to make Korea a better nation in the world, all understood in exclusively instrumentalist and economic terms. In other words, individuals are trained to believe that following a path of social stress to

superiority is the most valuable thing to do, even though it lacks such humane values as love, compassion, critical thinking, problem-solving skills and the like, which are key concepts of Freire's humanizing education (Shor, 1993; Darder, 2002). The Freirean ideal of education is suggested here as an antidote, on the premise that South Korean education is arguably ideological in the sense of making people unconsciously believe that humane values are far less important than competing for a future financial good. To put it simply, such dehumanized education conceals what is behind the logic of the country's social norms and presents them as obvious and uncritically acceptable.

This being so, it can be argued that values are dehumanized in a macro-social world based on an unlikely mix of neo-liberalism and the unexamined past experiences of colonization, war and dictatorship, all mingled and imposed on students' *habitus* in the name of education. This is further discussed in Section 5.3. Although this situation is partly unique to the South Korean context, Freire's analysis of the notion of humanizing education (1970) can be brought to bear on it. Freire again argues that, to overcome current dehumanizing education, individuals must be conscientized and/or emancipated – and this means much more than simply 'fixing' individual kids. This argument in turn demonstrates the need to change the *necessary habitus* of the participant individuals (i.e. the *habitus* which they perceive as necessary) which has been explored throughout previous chapters.

In this section, I have focused on the cultural elements explored in Chapter 4 and discussed them in the frame of *habitus*. However, it is crucial to note that the *habitus* reflects, more generally, the overall social system; and, because groups of individuals have similar *habitus*, it turns into the culture of the

group. In order to make this similar *habitus* coalesce into a culture, diverse forms of symbolic violence became institutionalised in school under the name of education. This is discussed below.

5.3 Discussion 2: Symbolic violence occurring in class: misrecognizing the way of education

This section discusses how violence occurs symbolically and institutionally in class. In Chapter 4, I focused on the schools' control system, language, the internalized culture of intolerance and overt form of violence among students as representative examples of symbolic and institutionalised violence. In this section, I compare the experiences of teachers, and the phenomena of authoritative management and atypical employment, with the accounts in the background literature.

As Bongsu said, Foucault uses the term *prison* to describe schools: 'schools are divided into cells (classrooms) where the inmates are constantly watched and surveillance makes it possible to map aptitudes, to assess characters, to draw up rigorous classifications and, in relation to normal development, to distinguish "laziness and stubbornness" from "incurable imbecility"' (Harber, 2004, p. 62). Similarly, as Lee (2005) argues, the school system in Korea is derived from the experience of war and colonisation. The militarized culture – such as punishing students who disobey rules and/or orders, giving out numbers and hanging national flags – influences every corner of the classroom.

In reality, classrooms 6, 7 and 8 had national flags at the front, the school slogan on the left and the class slogan on the right of the flags. From the beginning of the semester, students are well-organised in class by numbers (see Section 3.3.1). Bongsu often called students by their numbers. And when Bongsu called out a name, the students answered with their number. It became very habitual. This reflects the militarized and inhumane aspects of students' and teachers' behaviours, for giving students numbers is very close to giving a military ID number to soldiers and also seems to reduce students habitually to countable entities. One's name is very personal information, one's basic identity. However, students prefer numbers to surrendering their names to teachers. Recalling my own school experience, I would not have wanted teachers to remember my name because it would have meant either too good or too bad a relationship; it was better to let them know my number which was meaningless and easy to forget. From the teacher's point of view, it is easier to avoid human emotions in assessing students' grades and at the same time it does not require as much effort as is needed to remember all the names in a huge class. Overall, humane elements are all missing in these daily practices.

Displaying the national flag should represent a patriotism unifying the students, but thanks to their individualism, flags do not (in this case) seem to exert much of an influence. However, slogans seem to have some force. For instance, there were astonishing class slogans in Y Girls' high school: 'Don't sleep, your friends are studying!'; 'Wake them up!' This symbolically pressurises students and makes them study without seeking reasons (diary_20120605).

All these habits make students think and behave in conformist ways –

puts pressure on them to become (or at least pretend to become) 'good' students. Otherwise, they can be punished. Teachers may argue that this is not about control but about education. However, it is questionable whether it is so educationally necessary to forbid the resources of mobile phones, sleeping and make-up. Additionally, it is doubtful whether students need to be ordered to open their books and so on. There are so many disputes about keeping to the regulations versus freedom of expression and/or physical freedom in education. The violations of the rights of students in school were criticized a while ago, usually by arguments from progressive teachers.

Until recently, direct punishment – typically, corporal punishment – was acceptable in classrooms. Some students revealed in interviews that direct punishment creates a sense of fear in class, but still it was needed to encourage studying. Socially imposed necessity forced students to accept the use of direct punishment. Most students do not question why they should be punished. Students who resist are justly punished because they have broken the rule of studying enforced by the system. This situation is expressed as a control mechanism exercised through indoctrinated pedagogy, the penalty point system and examinations, as I present them in the case of S high school (see Section 4.3.1).

As discussed, the deeply militarized practices as well as 'compete and study' as an ideology justifies the use of punishment. I argue here that 'competition, examinations and unconditional studying' is now the ideology in our schools. Ideologies are systems of symbols and representations which transfer into our language and practices throughout our lived-experiences (Althusser, 1965). Therefore unconscious ideology operates naturally and becomes common-sense,

as studying has become a critical standard for assessing students – either good or bad. This was what enabled problematic corporal punishment to be replaced by introducing the penalty point system (indirect punishment), a system enforced by the Students' Human Rights Ordinance. Despite the fact that this Ordinance aimed to improve conditions for students, it perpetuated structural violence under the name of order and education. That is, the penalty system in the end expels the students who are usually the trouble-makers in class.

Minsuk shared his view that, in his experience, the Students' Human Rights Ordinance became something like an ideology among teachers. They blamed it for their difficulties in managing students. The same argument underlies the idea that human rights is now an ideology (see Section 2.4.2). In other words, teachers exaggerate the problems that human rights cause in educating students – that is, teachers can no longer control students because they cannot use corporal punishment. Furthermore, Wonro and some older teachers consider human rights as enshrining Western values in protecting individualism. In this regard, they think that human rights are not appropriate as values in South Korean schools and conflict with traditional Korean values. They think the penalty point system is an evidence for this argument. The irony of the present contradictory situation is that it legitimizes symbolic violence in schools and makes direct violence appear a more humane approach in education. Moreover, the inherent self-centeredness of a historically militarist society, such as South Korea, can now be conveniently explained away as a corrosive Western influence.

However, I would argue here that it is another way of violence which occurs symbolically and institutionally under the guise of controlling students.

The remaining culture based on a control mechanism shows that the use of violence is institutionalised among students and teachers. Whether direct or indirect punishment is used, the reason for punishments is to amend students' behaviours. Helpless behaviours are designated in a society as things that 'students should not do!' Teachers and students rarely question this; they accept the fact that such behaviours are not acceptable in school. It is a school norm as well as a social one that students' uniforms should be neat, they should not smoke and should not sleep in class, and so on. Therefore, the punishment for such behaviour is appropriate to the educational purposes and means of schools.

This mechanism produces disputable cases: students get the highest penalty points for defying teachers' instructions. It pays in points to be uncritical. S high school also punishes students who exhibit 'demoralizing' behaviours, such as boys and girls holding hands and whispering in school. Students in S high school thought these two penalties were the most bizarre in the school regulations and can hardly understand them. For example, Namsoon, Heebong, Dongsuk and other interviewees said 'Wouldn't this mean that teachers could do whatever they wanted? This is crazy!' (interview_20120611_JiaHeebongSohee). In addition, Saeil was laughing when he said, 'Doesn't this sound awkward? "Demoralizing behaviours"? This is a mixed school and it is natural to have girlfriends and boyfriends, no? Then they can hold hands and they can share their secret stories quietly. They can whisper to each other. What do they [teachers] imagine? Eroticism? Sucks!' (interview_20120620_OhSaeil). This was one of the few cases where even generally conformist students saw a reason to question *aspects* of the normalised system of punishments as inherently unreasonable. However, it did not

prompt them to question the legitimacy of the system *as such*.

Interestingly, punishments are all overtly aimed at educating students. Educating students to become moralized and good persons symbolically underpins and validates punishment. Some teachers and students did question how it serves education, but it seemed clear that it is generally (mis)recognized as an educational strategy – how to educate children morally.

As I discovered, the purpose of education seems systematically misrecognized by students and teachers in exactly the way that Bourdieu's theory would predict. It made people focus on studying for examinations and it made them believe that indoctrination is the most effective pedagogy for this purpose (see Section 4.3.1). Bourdieu has argued that pedagogical action is in fact symbolic violence which is inscribed in the *habitus* through the process of misrecognizing the hidden meanings, values and symbols of socio-cultural arbitraries. He goes on to argue that pedagogical action encompasses pedagogical work, a process of inculcation which fosters the practice of internalized arbitraries (see Section 2.2.1). Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the role of pedagogy in misrecognising the purpose of education is critical, perpetuating both indirect and symbolic mechanisms of control and/or restraint. Thus, once students get used to the indoctrination of pedagogy, it then justifies the examination system, which basically aims to train students to get actively involved in the control mechanism. In other words, students misrecognize the examination system and its values and meaning, which actually reflect the social values of social control rather than emancipation and freedom (to grow and become who you want to be). The issue of pedagogy is discussed further in Section 5.4 below. However, students are

misled into thinking that factual knowledge and its relationship to examinations are the crucial elements in their lives (cf. Harber, 2004).

Having misrecognized the purpose of education, students in S high school became violent in two ways – using abusive language and causing explicit school violence. The reasons for this situation vary but it is not hard to guess that, given the repressive system under which they suffer, they experience considerable distress, socially and psychologically. Moreover, teachers regularly assume that children these days have poor mind-control skills and suffer from emotional weaknesses; therefore they express their feelings violently. Social problems are thus neatly converted into problems of individual and emotional deficiencies. It is usually the trouble-makers who use bad language and instigate school violence. For instance, abusive language is understood as *iljin* language. As explored in Section 4.3.2, the bad students insist on using such language, which is sometimes very exclusive, violent and discriminatory. Literally, *iljin* itself means 'a military; a group of *iljin* during the Japanese colonial period who were pro-Japan' (Naver Dictionary, 2013). Interestingly, nowadays we call trouble-makers in general *iljin*. Some people distinguish between normal trouble-makers and serious *iljin*, but, from what I have observed in this research, the connection is strong. In addition, trouble-makers are also called *Nallari* in Korean, meaning those who are not capable of proper language and behaviour and are thus unreliable. All such terms can imply that the stereotyping of trouble-makers is reflected in the names they are given by others. The nuanced use of language as a source of social control and differentiation is a conspicuous feature of symbolic violence in South Korean schools.

I have traced how bad students are categorized and named in the Korean language because it reveals how social values and understandings are reflected and imposed on them. Language is socially constructed (Alexander, 2000; Davis, 1994; Gramsci, 1971; Grenfell and Kelly, 2004). This means that language itself implies socially imposed meanings, which then reflect the lived-experiences of individuals. Likewise, those *iljin* and/or *Nallari* students unconsciously become what they are called without acknowledging what it means in a wider society. As Heungsoo, Namsoon and Dayoon – graduate *iljin* – narrated, their personal trials, such as family break-ups, violent parents, influenced their becoming *iljin* when they were primary students. Even though some report that *iljin* these days have relatively high socio-economic backgrounds (Moon et al., 2012), the *iljin* I met in S high school all had low socio-economic backgrounds, just as in the past, and in accordance with Bourdieu's analysis of schooling in France in his time. In general, their family story strongly influences them because they want to defy their parents or escape from their homes.

They enjoy being away from home but they become aware that they will be losers in the end if they do not study at school. Graduate *iljin* are those who acknowledge this likelihood and try to change themselves in high school. For instance, Namsoon analysed that he graduated from *iljin*-hood because he will feel *ashamed* if a friend who has succeeded in any field drives into his gas station with a BMW while he is serving. This is why he decided to quit *iljin* status and to study. He did not want to be poor and he was afraid of an imminent low adult status. Such people think it childish to use abusive language and be involved in *iljin* activities such as bullying or taking things from weaker students (see Section

4.3.4). Though they strongly resisted school demands in lower levels of schooling, they are now trying to become good students, in other words successful *conformists*. It is a moot point how far the case of the 'graduate *iljin*' can be squared with Bourdieu's theory. On the one hand, the social mobility inherent in this possibility seems to be in tension with it; but on the other hand the fact that, after 'graduation,' the 'graduates' become almost equally uncritical of the status quo as those good students who never lapsed seems to indicate the sort of uncritical normalisation of social fields that Bourdieu (and later, to a greater extent, Foucault) envisaged.

By contrast, those who remain as *iljin,* such as Igyung and Jungho, are unlikely to be aware of this kind of embarrassing future situation (e.g. as gas-station workers, serving those 'good' students whom they may previously have bullied) and still think that it is meaningless for them to study. They seem to subconsciously think that their behaviours originate in their own personal dispositions. By using abusive language and wielding explicit school violence against weak students, they enjoy themselves and feel that they are in a powerful group. However, they know that they will be punished by penalty points if they are caught using such violence and language. In the end, they will be expelled. They seem a little scared of being expelled but they pretend it is nothing. They habitually resist school demands but they do so in predictable and normalised ways that imply that they are conforming to the lives marked out for them by the structures of schools and society. They are thus very similar to the 'lads' in Willis' famous research (1977), representing a social contingency that adds interesting contours to Bourdieu's theory.

Iljin or *Nallari*, under this system, are stereotyped as worthless, violent, impolite and inelegant persons. This is shown by the language used about them. They are symbolized as either betrayers (i.e. as a pro-Japanese group, in the Korean context) or incapable – witness the more detailed discussion in the next section. Their use of abusive language proves that they are impolite and inelegant and their use of violence shows their violent aspects. Under the system, they are expelled (overtly or covertly) from education. *Iljin* or *Nallari* are symbolised as useless and disturbers of the peace in class.

However, I view their situation not as an individual choice to graduate or remain in *iljin* but as an imposed social structure to force them to choose one of these two. As Bourdieu remarks, symbolic violence is nothing but a cultural mechanism which dominates people. People unconsciously adapt their social relations and learn not to question the status quo but to reinforce a current oppressive culture and system. To this culture the *iljin* or *Nallari* are exposed; they must get used to speaking such abusive language and become even more violent than before – shown in their close relationship to resistance in schools. They take on a social role, given to them rather than chosen by them. The abusive language and explicit school violence, therefore, can be seen as the objective structure of oppression produced in the internalized dispositions and needs of human actors, reflecting social roles (Giroux, 1981).

In this respect, it is reasonable to point out the relationship between teachers and students. So far, it has been argued that Korea's unchanged control mechanism perpetuates violence and those who evidently use violence both verbally and physically reflect social orders and structures. In other words,

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violence appears in symbolic forms to oblige each individual to become either a conformist achiever or an equally conformist rebel. This being so, it was the students who were discussed as subject to violence in this thesis. However, I noted in Section 4.5 that teachers are also victims of the very same control mechanism. Teachers are systemically trained to be conformist. That is to say, the symbolic violence operates in building teachers' *habitus* as educators but at the same time merely as civil servants. This is one reason why they feel that they are controlled as they control students, in other words, by means of education (see Section 4.3.1). Therefore, it is quite common – and in full accordance with Bourdieu's theory – for them to rationalise the control mechanism and consider it education.

There is a variety of reasons for this, but one of the most critical is the authoritative management strongly imposed on teachers. Furthermore, the social process of increasing atypical employment is imposed on schools, making more teachers employed on temporary contracts. This unstable and vulnerable position for teachers brings with it the problem of not being respected and also the issue of responsibility for school and classroom management. All of these situations influence the relationships between students and teachers. Many teachers are afraid of taking responsibility for students, and some students know that a teacher on temporary contract is liable to leave them at any time, so they will barely open their minds to what they say.

The relationship between teachers and students has long been discussed. An old but still reasonable theory is the *Pygmalion effect* in class (Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968). This shows how teachers' expectation influences students' proficiency. If a teacher expects that a student will do well, the student reflects

this expectation, while if they show low expectations and negative stereotypes, students adopt the attitude of *learned helplessness*. This being so, it is arguable that the violence of the *iljin* is strongly influenced by teachers' expectations. Yoon (2000), for one thing, shows that the experience of corporal punishment in schools affects the students' use of violence. Furthermore, it seems plausible to suppose that if a teacher uses abusive language, a student is likely to mirror it. It is questionable whether or not the teachers' use of abusive language will systematically differ from the students'. In my observations, it sometimes did and sometimes did not. However, because the use of abusive and extremely violent language in classrooms is institutionalised in various ways, it seems instructive to take a holistic view to appreciate its place in the relationship between teachers and students.

The *Pygmalion effect* is paramount in regard to diversity in class. However, as analysed in Chapter 4, both students and teachers are very new to issues of diversity – the phenomenon of multiculturalism. Therefore, teachers and students have not learned to embrace diversity (Kwon, 2009). Furthermore, teachers and students have not learned to think that gender and disability are also key issues of diversity. This may be why the boys in class 7 of S high school in particular showed quite violent anger towards the girls in class. Even though there seems to be quite clear gender differences here, students and teachers do not seem to take the anger seriously as a gender issue but are simply annoyed by it. In addition, students in class 7 of S high school enjoyed teasing a student with mental retardation. It gave them much fun (see Section 4.3.3).

No individual can be blamed for this situation. No one in South Korean

schools was taught to deal with it and to tolerate differences. As explored in Section 4.3.3, what teachers in S high school can do about students with a disability is to ask other students not to call them exceptional children but to call them friends in *Happy Class,* which I find offensive as a term in itself. Hence, it is very likely that such students are excluded in class and students are taught to look down on their friends with disabilities. Overall, intolerance to differences, i.e. diversity, is internalized among students and teachers, as I frequently observed.

Recognizably, conflicts occur in diverse cultural forms in schools and these conflicts develop into a violent-friendly environment in school. Unchanged authoritative schooling and control mechanisms collide with the new multicultures that students bring into school. Teachers and students, unfortunately, do not learn how to build consensus but instead to control and to resist. Both students and teachers are used to being controlled and they are used to direct or indirect violence – corporal punishment or the penalty point system – used for allegedly educational purposes. The violence used in schools is justified or at least explained away as a necessary feature of adolescence, while school violence among students is getting serious but is nonetheless enjoyed by some students. To sum up, cultural rather than psychological elements seem to legitimize and routinize violence in school, a process which is misrecognized as education and provokes a culture of violence as the *culture* of school. A detailed discussion of the cultures of school follows.

5.4 Discussion 3: Defining peace in classroom

After the discussion of symbolic violence in schools, I focus on ways in which peace can be defined in class by first exploring violence. In doing so, I take *Hicks' diagram* (introduced in Section 2.5.1) as the basic framework. In previous sections, I discussed how violence occurs symbolically and institutionally through individuals as social agents. Previous discussions are critical here, for understanding violence is the foundation for understanding peace. Here, I look more deeply at the data and try to explain how these understandings of violence can pave the way to exploring peace.

Hicks' diagram shows that peace and violence are all interrelated – more accurately, positive peace and indirect violence, negative peace and direct violence are located in a cycle. Usually, people tend to think that direct violence alone is the cyclical pre-condition for peace education. However, this plausible diagram shows that direct and indirect violence are interrelated and thus the various issues causing violence in society all become crucial themes in peace education. Negative peace means the absence of direct violence, in other words, the absence of war. Hence, the theory looks at the violence which affects an individual directly through warships, terrorism, torture and so on. Meanwhile, positive peace implies the absence of structural violence (indirect violence), such as injustice caused by social, political and economic systems, the violation of human rights, inequality, hunger and so on. Peace education, hence, focuses on the way in which these concepts interact with each other and what role education can

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play in handling such complex issues (see Section 2.5.3).

This diagram also presents peace-violence as two sides of the same coin. That is, understanding violence gives us a way to explore peace. On this basis, the discussion in this section, by reverting to the contextual examples analysed in the previous chapter, focuses on the ways in the way in which peace and violence are interrelated. It aims to show how cultures of violence in class are formed and further symbolised as *the culture* of the school.

As can be seen from the data, it may look from the interviews as though direct violence in school has no general social consequences, except for the fact that some *iljin* offend other students. However, if we return to the fact that South Korea is politically in a state of truce, it is questionable whether this is altogether free from war. Students rarely have peace or reunification education, yet when Bongsu asked which country had most influence on South Korea, Gyungmin answered, 'North Korea'. When I observed Minsuk's class in D middle school, too, I sometimes heard students call their friends, 'You Red! You idiot!' when they thought their friends had behaved oddly.

Implicitly boys think about army service. For instance, Namsoon talked about giving penalty points to students who have tattoos. He said that these students should be punished: even the army forbids tattoos because they are repulsive. Not only this, but boys whom I met in S high school, G high school and D middle school said in the course of a game in class 'Let's make military discipline'. Even some teachers unconsciously say 'Oh, dear, the military discipline has been relaxed in this class!' The purpose of using such metaphors is

to have fun or to warn students. This suggests how deeply military practices are infused in our daily lives. In addition, the remains or legacy of the colonial mentality still influences everyday life. I decided to discuss this issue under the heading 'direct violence with militarism' because the historical background of Japanese colonization in South Korea links closely with militaristic imperialism (Ham, 2003; Lee, 2005).

Militarism in combination with the colonial mentality becomes even more explicit when the *iljin* use abusive language and enjoy school violence. Militarism is a fundamental ideology and culture, consisting of male chauvinism (i.e. patriarchal ideology) and an oppressive system based on order and hierarchy. For instance, militarism regards war and the preparation for it as normal and necessary in society, therefore, it exaggerates the heroism, nobility and glamour associated with war (Yarwood and Weaver, 1988). In this regard, South Korea readily sees soldiers as heroic when they successfully carry out shooting missions and the like – in particular when famous stars entertain them. Furthermore, as soon as men serve in the military they get so used to the hierarchical oppressive order that they will not talk back or ask their senior officers 'why?', no matter how justified their objections are.

From the observations and interviews, I found that the *iljin* in S high school unconsciously reflect patriarchal militarism. First of all, when *iljin* use abusive language, they tend to feminize things by putting 'nyun (bitch)' at the end of each word (see Section 4.3.2). Both girls and boys use such feminized words. What is interesting is that boys themselves call each other 'nyun' in order to make friends feel worse. They unconsciously use such language but those who listen to

it feel very bad. *Iljin* girls uncritically do the same as boys and do not seem to feel bad even when their boyfriends use sexually abusive language to them. This being so, Davis (2004) and Reardon (1988) take feminist aspects as the essence of peace education. Furthermore, homosexuality is viewed negatively by students and implied in the teasing of boys perceived as losers.

Second, the hierarchy system of *iljin* greatly resembles that of the military. As seen in Section 4.3.4, the basic relationship between senior and junior *iljin* is very oppressive and hierarchical. Seniors can beat juniors if they wish, seniors can force juniors to buy expensive things and force them to steal. Seniors can call juniors together in a group at any time. In return, seniors will fight for juniors if someone else is harassing them. It is their politics of co-existence. *Iljin* will not use 'stars' to indicate their power and position but according to Jungho and Igyung, it is their physical power which decides their position in a group.

Third, as the word *iljin* itself implies, behind the name are symbolised those who were pro-Japanese and traitors to their country. As if in a mirror, teachers and good students symbolise them as peace-breakers in class. Teachers assess *iljin* as people whose morality and social capabilities are formed wrongly and bring a negative impact on classes. Good students are scared of them because they are powerful in terms of explicit violence, yet they look down on *iljin* as losers who have no notion of what they are doing. Good students think they are awkward because *iljin* show high loyalty to their seniors but look down on teachers who cannot beat them. They are like the pro-Japanese traitors, who were also considered mean and half-witted. This suggests that people still perceive those who are negative, bad and so on as pro-Japanese even if they are nothing

whatever to do with Japanese policies.

However, as corporal punishment has been banned by law, it seems that indirect violence is taking a more critical role in the school culture. It was banned because people tended to think of teachers treating students with violence as the root of school violence. It is true in that the basic relationship in the current system between teachers and students is hierarchal and oppressive – despite the arguments that teachers' authority has dwindled. However, as discussed, the military culture is still valid in forming classroom cultures and it is uncritically as well as unconsciously infused into the cultures of both students and teachers. This situation needs to be addressed by dissecting and diagnosing the forms of indirect violence, since they all interrelate with each other. In examining the current situation of the school, it seems reasonable to argue that indirect and symbolic violence infused into school life is much stronger in forming the school culture than direct violence is. In reality, the root causes of school violence now mingle with the varying ideologies, power relations and cultural dynamics of a wider society.

To begin with, I would point to some ideologies typically symbolised in South Korea as right, common and realistic, which I would name *colonized false ideologies*. I include *colonized* in the name because of the peculiar situation of South Korea. Normally, ideology serves as an explanatory concept of a class-based society, usually a Western society. For example, the basic Marxist approach explains ideology as the structure of the base versus the superstructure which betrays the underlying critical factor – the economy. Marx also ascribes to the notion that what makes the ruling ideas of a given dialectical era ideological is the

use made of them to hide things from the lower classes to the benefit of the ruling class (Marx, 1867). This explanation may still seem appropriate in Western societies, yet in South Korea it seems somewhat contradictory, at least from a Marxist perspective.

To illustrate, the relationship of the dominator and the dominated in post-colonial societies was reset after the colonization period. Therefore, the ideologies of the dominator or oppressor, or the high classes of such societies, are based not only on economics but also on their unique view of history and the world. For instance, nationalism is strong in almost all classes, yet the traces of the colonial mentality bring about 'toadyism' in the dominated culture. This produces a new terminology – *Gangnam Lefties* – to designate those who have a high-class background in terms of income and education and who usually support conservative political parties in South Korea but consider progressive/liberal ideologies to be right in theory. The satire against this group is symbolised in the image of the 'Champagne Socialist' or a high-class person reading a biography of Che Guevara in English, at Starbucks. Thus, from a Marxist perspective, wealth and the espoused ideology have come apart in a paradoxical way. From a psychological perspective, however, we could perhaps account for this phenomenon through the concept of self-estrangement, in particular among post-colonial identities.

Notions which originate from Western societies, such as social capital and cultural capital, using insights from Marx or Bourdieu, are directly imported, but uncritically so in the case of South Korea (see Section 2.2.3). It is easy to recognize how the dominating class in South Korea forms its social capital and

ideology on a colonial mentality or toadyism. Thus, the ideology in this case can be described as a *colonized ideology*. I also put *false* in its title because it falsely makes people believe they are progressive and emancipated, just because they are no longer held in the grip of a colonial force, thus hiding from their own consciousness the extent to which they have become the new powerholders. Overall, school is a symbolic place for perpetuating such *colonized false ideologies*.

Colonized false ideologies create indirect violence which is even stronger and more effective than direct violence in preserving the history of colonization, war and dictatorship in combination with new ideas about democracy, capitalism, neo-liberalism and globalisation. All of these are combined distinctively in South Korean society, which make it appear confusing and self-contradictory from a Bourdieuean or Marxist perspective at the macro level, although Bourdieu's analysis seems quite fitting at the micro-level of the school, as I have shown in the foregoing discussion.

For example, it is noteworthy how *human rights* became a political ideology in South Korean education. In any discussion of peace education, human right are an essential issue (UNESCO, 1999), recalling universal values and rights in democratic societies. In addition, human rights are critical values covered in almost every broad values education approach (see Section 2.5.2). However, for South Korean schools, human rights took on a life of their own as they became a cultural and political ideology when the progressive authorities brought up the issue of students' human rights by introducing the Ordinance (see Section 2.4.2). Thus human rights, in schools above all, became a political hobby-horse of the

progressive parties.

In this situation, human rights – that is, students' human rights – are now symbolised as ways of breaking school rules. As discussed in Section 5.3, teachers tend to blame the Ordinance for breaking down their authority. Teachers think that it made students in general more violent and impolite. Surprisingly, students somehow agree with this position. Good students in particular complain that teachers look inadequate because they cannot control trouble-makers. In my view, those students have been misled into thinking that human rights are the representative concern of the Ordinance and are to blame for what has gone wrong because teachers may no longer use corporal punishment. Good students thus think that the *iljin* behave badly because they are no longer afraid of teachers. This reasoning is possible because human rights have reduced sanctions to the system of penalty points introduced by the Ordinance to keep the control mechanism intact.

Ironically, as human rights became the ideology in schools, teachers and students were symbolically forced to give up their basic human rights to self-expression in the belief that exerting them disturbed the original school order and threatened the security and peace of the class. Accordingly, students now think that corporal punishment (direct violence) is far better for their studying than the penalty point system (indirect violence). Teachers in practice agree with them. This relates to the discussion in Section 5.3. Some teachers have argued that human rights as Western values conflict with traditional values (see section 5.3). I would argue here that all these beliefs stem from the ideology of human rights falsely being made the scapegoat in schools.

Second, the *'compete and study' ideology* has caused students (and teachers) not to resist social injustice. But social justice is one of the critical values underlying peace (Hicks, 1988). I argued earlier that 'compete and study' became the ideology of South Korean education through particular historical contingencies. As mentioned, South Korean mass schooling began with colonization and it became especially important after the Korean War as a way of rebuilding the nation. The dictators who were in power after the war made people dedicate themselves to studying for the good of their family and the nation. People began to engage in education for the development of the nation as well as themselves and this has created a distorted culture called the *hakbul society* (see Section 2.4). For this reason neither the Western ideal of the intrinsic value of (liberal) education nor the Confucian value of education for the sake of self-cultivation has gained a serious foothold in contemporary South Korean culture.

In this historical situation, people were forced to adopt a *politically neutral habitus* to succeed socially and economically. This ideology brought students and teachers to value the name of the prestigious universities and set them as their sole goals to be attained through a competitive standardized examination system. This system traps students into thinking solely about what they should know for the examination; naturally they have no interest in controversial issues, as explored in Section 4.2.3. In this regard, it was astonishing to hear one of the trouble-makers in class 7 in S high school, Uchol, asking, 'Is King Saejong's family name Lee?' In my experience, this is very basic knowledge, perhaps common knowledge, in South Korea. In contrast, I was not surprised at students' ignorance of some controversial news which Bongsu shared during the

class. Rather I was surprised to see that Dayoon knew that three large churches in South Korea had very close political associations with the previous president, Lee Myungbak.

Talking about controversial issues had been prohibited during the dictatorship and it has remained a primary norm to observe in school. As a consequence, the current law restricts the political voices of teachers. All of these measures were considered good for the country's development.

This culture was uniquely intensified when it absorbed global neo-liberalism after the financial crisis of 1997. Neo-liberalism emphasizes competitiveness, standardized high-stakes selection tests and individualism. Based on the collective 'compete and study' ideology, neo-liberal educational policies such as school choice have brought about an even more competitive educational environment. As mentioned, private tutoring takes on a critical role in South Korean education, nowadays considered more influential than public school education (see Section 2.4.1). People were attracted to neo-liberal policies because they were dealt with under 'individual-focused learning', in other words, 'learner-centred', 'developing individual capabilities in order to compete in global markets' and 'giving individuals equally diverse opportunities'. People no doubt spent immense amounts on private education to qualify for better schools offering globally profitable education. But this situation widens the educational gap and the rich continue to have the better education which guarantees them access to an elite university in the future (see Section 2.4.1).

With the combination of neo-liberalism and past experience of dedicating

oneself to the nation's development, social justice became something irrelevantly political and/or 'none-of-my-business'. As such, it became common to believe that, in such a world, resisting social injustice was naive. Therefore, it became natural for students to develop a selfish outlook so as to compete in this system. Absorbing great quantities of knowledge for the examination which would decide their future life became very important for every student; thus they busily studied by themselves. They are trained to resist cooperative learning and teachers also find it ineffective to do anything beyond lecturing. I argue that all these historically conditioned habitual learning processes influence both teachers and students to become rather selfish in various ways.

For teachers, the neo-liberal policies created an increased rate of atypical employment amid the vigorous remnants of the authoritative management system. Thus, even though they are expected to have robust power and control over classes, they may try to build rapport with students and want to advance their real interests. My observations and interviews indicate, however, that those efforts lack stability and that teachers are not in a social position to think constructively about students' interests. They often get depressed, so, rather than thinking about wider social problems, they concentrate on dealing with their own problems – most significantly, the contracts between them and the school. All of these tendencies are enhanced through the internalized culture of 'dealing' which was analysed in Section 4.4. This culture fosters selfish mind-sets and promotes conflicts among teachers as well as students.

Social justice is about equal power relations at individual, local and global levels (Hicks, 1988). Put simply, it is about letting people build the knowledge,

attitudes and skills to think about others and the wider society where others can live together. However, by emphasizing competition and the studying-for-the-sake-of-economic-benefits ideology as a prudent way to survive in this competitive world, in combination with unresolved war and colonial issues, students are trained to value success (usually merely economic) and winning. As a consequence, some good students cherish the penalty point system because they rarely get such points whereas the *iljin* will at last be expelled from school! At the same time, the remaining pro-Japanese elite at present in power have no reason to feel guilty for having power, just as the origin of the term *iljin* implies. Like a reflection of these people, the *iljin* using violence such as beating and stealing become the proxy of the literal *iljin* and have no feelings of guilt either, as long as they retain power over others. In this situation, the issues or practices of social justice seem to go completely missing, both at the macro and micro levels. All these practices have brought a *culture of social injustice* to schools and made it natural to believe that students and teachers have no choice but to avoid considering problems of social injustice as if they could do nothing about them.

Third, *inequality* is exacerbated both symbolically and directly by unconsciously denying diversity. Diversity is explained via social categories such as gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, age, disability and so on. In Section 4.3.3, I analysed how the internalized value of intolerance is institutionalised in class. First of all, because students are trapped in a compete-and-study ideology, they have not learned to deal with differences. Nor are they taught to think about social justice or given experience of talking about controversial issues. Despite the fact that all primary schools are mixed, the boys and girls I met in S high school seem

to have no understanding of each other as equals. In their interviews, boys, trouble-makers in particular, showed hatred and anger towards girls. Girls seem not to understand boys' culture but some of the girls seemed likely to accept it if their boyfriends had power among the *iljin*. They may have heard of gender equality but they do not seem to have learned how to make equal relationships and understand each other. Rather, they seem to follow the old patriarchal system – boys would not try to understand girls' culture and think girls are strange, while girls equally have difficulty in understanding boys' culture but somehow accept it and try to become involved in it by having boyfriends.

Even though it seems that gender equality presents no overt problems because girls and boys receive the same education in schools, girls, and trouble-makers most of all, are attached to boys in condescending ways. Sexually harassing jokes are accepted as the norm among them. Even Junghyun enjoyed such jokes when Heungsoo teased her by saying, 'Oh, dear, you said you wanted to sleep with me?' In my view, this reflects how gender equality in South Korea is only nominally covered by giving equal opportunities to girls and boys in principle. People still have not learned how to treat basic differences, tolerate them or question the old male-centred system and macho culture. This being so, homosexuality is negatively perceived by students. This situation connects with the theme discussed above of ignoring issues of social justice.

The intolerance of diversity is even more distinctive regarding students with disabilities. As South Korean society has grown a little closer to a democratic society, the practices of some schools have developed in the direction of including students with disabilities. S high school had a special education class and I met

Youngwoo, who hardly had any friends in class 7. From what I observed, the good students seemed to ignore her while the trouble-makers were busy teasing her for fun. I rarely saw other students helping her or talking to her in class. Teachers also did not care much about her. Systemically, students with disabilities are forced to be physically included in, but psycho-socially excluded from, classes.

In theory, inclusion is a process addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all children, young people and adults through increasing their participation in learning by reducing and eliminating exclusion within and from education (UNESCO, 2009). Yet South Korean schools are not prepared to truly include those students, they simply try to show on the surface that they have included them. Not surprisingly, students and teachers are not ready to include them in their daily lives. Both groups are forced to accept difference but not to tolerate and understand it.

These phenomena provide a negative forecast for students from multicultural families. When I interacted with students in S high school who plan to volunteer for mentoring programmes aimed at students from multicultural families, they had no interest, knowledge or understanding of multicultural phenomena: immigrants, international marriages and the children of these. Arguably North Korean refugees are different, because of a common language and ethnicity, but students and teachers are ignorant about these groups and do not seem to have a sense of what kind of conflicts will arise from the differences. As neither students nor teachers have learned to tolerate differences, multicultural issues are considered to be ones which will arise far from their own lives. Inclusion based on the value of tolerance and respect for human rights were non-

existent in the schools I observed.

So far, I have discussed the direct and indirect aspects of violence in schools. I would say that all of those constitute collectively the school culture. As discussed, all these aspects are also interrelated. To illustrate, militarism as an example of the direct violence that influences the internalized intolerance between genders. The intolerance-based culture is connected to the culture of ignoring social justice. Human rights became the official cultural and political ideology, but on a distorted understanding of the basic concept.

This may have seemed a very bleak description. However, according to Hicks' diagram, a culture of violence can be changed to peace precisely because both of them are in a circular relationship. To explain once more, while the absence of direct violence can bring about negative peace, the absence of indirect violence can bring about positive peace. The premise for either kind of peace is to explore the culture of violence, trying to subvert it.

Let us not forget that specific values and moral judgements guide people to practise and reproduce the culture of violence in schools. Therefore, it is persuasive to argue that we must explore the inherent relationship between the development of social consciousness and moral development in order to find ways to achieve the transformation which leads to a culture of peace (Harris and Morrison, 2003). This explains why peace education is best discussed within the comprehensive idea of values education (see Section 2.5.2).

So far, I have discussed how the culture of violence is formed, generated and reproduced through the frames of Bourdieu's symbolic violence and Hicks'

diagram defining peace. Now, I want to move on to discuss how the culture of peace can be attained through education – peace education, in this case.

5.5 Discussion 4: Pedagogical change, the possible educative remedies of transforming the individual to contribute to a culture of peace.

This section concentrates on exploring a way to change the cultures of violence in class to cultures of peace. As discussed in Chapter 2, symbolic violence is exercised through *pedagogical action (PA),* and *pedagogical work (PW)* within the *educational system (ES).* In addition, peace education can be put into practice and attain concrete realization in schools once the aims and methods of pedagogy have changed (see Section 2.2.1). In this regard, I argue here that the central points in transforming the cultures of violence to cultures of peace should begin by looking at pedagogical practice. I say here with due caution that it is not about simply changing the methods, such as bringing in group activities, role playing and such, but about changing the core educational philosophy and the various mechanisms imposed through pedagogy. Individual change can only be achieved through institutional change rather than 'fixing' individual kids who have gone astray.

It will be helpful here to return to the discussion of *peace education in the broader context of values education* in Section 2.5.2, in connection with the data analysed in Section 4.6. The aim is to discuss how and why peace education is necessary in South Korean schools in transforming the status quo to something

better and more humane.

To begin with, I discussed how the culture of violence is exercised at all levels through the daily practices of students and teachers. The discussion showed that students learn to adapt and get used to this culture. Teachers also play their role in promoting the culture of violence under the strong control mechanisms in the school system. How do students learn to adapt to such cultures without questioning and evaluating them? According to the teachers I met, it is a matter of values, caught and taught, and the socialisation of students. Therefore, the teachers singled out a number of values to be fostered and reconstructed in the classroom.

Above all, the teachers whom I interviewed criticized the current school system which is severely influenced by neo-liberalism and excessive individualism. Teachers, from their different points of view, at least seemed to agree that the current system is problematic. They were not as accepting of the status quo as the students, who rarely criticised the system as such, although they expressed concerns about some distinct aspects of it. In order to start the change, the teachers claim that schools should have more cooperative activities to socialise students and develop their personalities. They may not have reflected deeply on their own teaching styles as Minsuk, but at least they value cooperation as the essence of school life. In addition, some mention the retrieval of the Korean traditional value of *chung* − empathy and affection − to overcome the culture of violence. They think that it would be beneficial to teach values through systematic forms of values education. Values education is a holistic concept consisting roughly of citizenship education and education to strengthen moral traits and

character (see Section 2.5.2). Simply speaking, it aims to build morally trustworthy citizens and/or raise citizens of moral character. Both approaches focus on the values that students should learn in order to live together in a society. Above various other values, there are such values as cooperation, caring, respect and responsibility and so on. This is very close to what the teachers I interviewed have been concerned about and urged for in schools.

The need to bring in cooperative learning and think about traditional values all makes sense in the context of values education. As a social studies teacher said when we met during a lunch break, the origins of the school system lie in a Western system which has been modified through our unique history. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that it does conflict with some traditional understandings of education which we have hardly had the opportunity to develop on our own. *Chung* basically means respect for others, caring for them and achieving cooperation when the participants have a sense of responsibility, both caring for and respecting others. In this regard, it should be the very core of the overarching change from the culture of violence to the culture of peace. It would be naïve, however, to think that simply introducing a new compulsory subject of values education into schools would automatically and radically change attitudes. The danger is that, just as in the case of the human-rights ideology, the core concepts of values education will be distorted to serve the interests of the powerholders in society. There may be slightly less danger of this, however, if the values education is based on traditional South Korean values, such as *chung*, rather than imported Western values which lend themselves more easily to manipulation.

After introducing such local values as a key to changing the peace-forsaken school classroom, I argue that a change of dominant pedagogy should follow. First, in order to change the current climate of teaching, I argue, as Minsuk and some other teachers in S high school did, that school practices need to be freed from the current control mechanisms. These control mechanisms block the way to a culture of peace because they depend on oppressive and authoritative relationships. As explored in Section 4.5, the control mechanisms not only govern individuals and make them internalize the *habitus* discussed above but also control the ways of educating students indirectly and symbolically. This is demonstrated by the current learning process, based on indoctrination and parrot learning, which calls for immense amounts of knowledge to be thrown back in examinations.

The reigning pedagogy should be changed with the basic idea of demolishing the current control mechanisms still deeply embedded in the school system. In this respect, teachers in S high school talked about building solidarity within the local community. This seems theoretically rather simple-minded but I maintain that it asks schools to reduce their power and communicate with other people about educating students. In the current system, schools have high fences and rarely communicate with local communities. In addition, people tend to think that educating children is the teachers' job. That is, it is normal to distinguish school education from family education and believe that a school is taking all the responsibility for children's education – in terms of both gaining knowledge and building moral character.

In this situation, teachers have both responsibility and power over

students and parents. Despite the arguments that parents these days, as consumers of education, regard teachers as employees of the school, teachers still have a certain power over parents in the education system. That is, culturally and socially people in South Korea tend to respect teachers highly. Giving bribes to teachers is prohibited by law, but starting from the dictatorship period it has been a critical issue (Hakbumo.com, 2009). It was possible because the authoritative system gave teachers power. In this regard, building solidarity with local communities implies a much stronger message: 'change the current school system and the relationship among students, parents and teachers equally'.

Starting to work with the local community for children's education may be expected to open the door wider to a culture of peace (the absence of both direct and indirect violence) because it basically requires a human rights-based understanding, rooted in the values of social justice and equality, which will then provide space for a non-militarized culture among students. This may seem a rather exaggerated argument, but I would urge that solidarity in education implies an equal relationship among its participants. Thus, unless the culture of violence that I have been discussing is critically and holistically treated, solidarity for education will not be effective. At the same time, individuals cannot transform the culture of violence to a culture of peace all by themselves. Because the culture of peace is about valuing others through respecting, caring and understanding and by learning and thinking about social justice, human rights and so on, it can be attained only through collaborative actions in which agents interact with other agents. This is a reason why the teachers in S high school think that in education building solidarity with external partners is crucial. They say that the local

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community is important because it is where students spend the rest of their day before and after school. All these ideas are basic to the pedagogy discussed in peace education (see Section 2.5.5).

Finally, as Toh (2004) points out, inner peace is crucial for linking wider violence and conflict to individual experiences. Simply speaking, it is the idea that one can think about peace for others only when one is at peace oneself. If we consider the relationship between teachers and students, it should be teachers who are most concerned about pedagogy because teaching is their basic role, both explicitly and implicitly. Therefore, it sounds quite reasonable that teachers should themselves strive to be more peaceful in order to change the current relationships and modes of communication with students.

However, as has been said, teachers are also trapped by the control mechanisms and become actors in regenerating the culture of violence in some of its aspects. This is a reason why I infer from my findings that teachers feel that they are controlled, just as they control students – they feel that their basic duty to educate children is being violated by the system (see Section 4.3.1). This being so, they should first learn how to tolerate differences emotionally and logically through sensitivity training and similar strategies. In this way, teachers will realize what to consider in creating a culture of peace and, furthermore, it is hoped that they will think of ways of teaching students how to achieve it. This is the pedagogical aspect of the necessary transformation.

Overall, I have discussed some aspects of pedagogy as the essential means for achieving peace. This is because, as Bourdieu says, symbolic violence

typically appears in the form of pedagogical action; pedagogy means not only methods of imparting knowledge but also implies ways to share and deliver the values of society. This argument indicates why peace education in schools covers not only values but also pedagogy, both philosophically and practically. These ideas lead us to see the relevance of peace education in South Korean schools, where school violence now prevails, both symbolically and explicitly.

5.6 Summary

Following the analysis made in Chapter 4, this chapter has discussed how the data in this thesis relate to theories which explain violence and peace. The first two discussions framed the data under Bourdieu's ideas of symbolic violence. To begin with, I related the key concepts of *habitus* and *field* to explain the behaviours, attitudes and cultures of students and teachers. By doing so, I framed a *necessary habitus* and a *contradictory habitus* to discuss how the concepts of *habitus* and *field* are formed and reflected among agents in South Korean schools.

I then went on to relate other aspects of the findings from Chapter 4 to the theoretical background. In general a good fit was found although various specific features of South Korean education and society emerged which are not easily accounted for by a universalist conceptual repertoire.

Finally, I returned to Hicks's diagram *defining peace* as a basic theoretical structure. I first discussed how direct violence occurs in schools. It

derives from a deeply infused military culture reflecting patriarchal, male-centred and oppressive relationships. Then I focused on indirect violence by suggesting that *colonized false ideologies, compete-and-study ideology and inequality* are reflected in schools. The interrelation of direct and indirect violence generates the culture of violence in schools. However, as the diagram showed, the absence of both kinds of violence can, under ideal conditions, lead to the introduction of both negative and positive peace.

Consequently, the discussion was developed to show how the transformation of the culture of violence can possibly be achieved. Here, *pedagogy* was foregrounded as a vehicle of change. The assertion here was that pedagogy is not just a simple matter of teaching methods but concerns the values and practices of the craft. Therefore, what the teachers in my study consider important was pointed out – cooperation, the Korean traditional value of *chung,* and ways of building solidarity and inner peace. I argued that these values and strategies imply a full transformation of the status quo in the education system and offer a possible way forward.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 Conclusion and key findings of the research

This concluding chapter will describe the key findings of this thesis and illustrate some limitations of the research and suggestions for possible future research. Therefore, this chapter consists of five sections: first, key findings of this research; second, limitations of this research, third, implications for future research; fourth, suggestions on South Korean schooling and peace education; finally, a brief summary of this chapter.

As introduced in Chapter 1, this thesis has aimed to explore how violence as a culture is generated and reproduced in South Korean schools and how this culture constitutes a relevant target for peace education in the country. In order to reach this aim, two research foci were pursued – first, daily operations of classrooms and practices focusing on the interactions among students and teachers; and second, the analysis of micro-macro relationships to explain how the culture of violence is symbolized and practiced by linking to relevant background theories – Bourdieu's symbolic violence and peace education.

The most critical findings to be highlighted in this thesis can be reduced to four main points, reflecting the research questions presented in Section 1.3.

First, it was noted that teachers support and enact control mechanisms in schools and they justify the direct use of violence such as corporal punishment as

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'education' in the classroom. It was also observed that they overtly oppose the prevailing regime of control mechanisms but have at the same time internalized the view that punishment is needed for the smooth running of students' studies. In the end, both approaches of control – direct, namely corporal punishment, and indirect, namely the penalty point system, are justified by the students themselves also. This is fully in line with either Bourdieuean or poststructuralist analyses of how the most 'successful' but insidious form of oppression is the one which has been normalized and accepted as necessary by the subjects. The reason why students seem to accept these control mechanisms is that they are trapped in a system which makes studying instrumentally for examinations the sole goal of education. Ideas of the intrinsic value of education seem alien to both students and (most) teachers.

Second, the theory of Bourdieu's symbolic violence was brought to bear to show how students and teachers connect the idea of peace and violence to issues in wider society. To illustrate, the analysis was made to explore how the examination and penalty point systems affect students and how this reflects social and economic aspects in society. By focusing on exploring sub-cultures of teachers and students, it became clear that all the groups regard conformist ways of adapting knowledge for examinations valuable. Data from observations and questionnaires homed in on this micro-macro relationship. This explanation was possible by referring to Bourdieu's concepts of social field and *habitus* and this showed clearly that the experiences of students and teachers reflects socio-cultural ideologies such as the remaining colonial legacy, militarism and neo-liberalism. The findings enabled the research to present how a culture of violence is

encouraged and perpetuated symbolically in South Korean schools.

Third, the theory of peace education, *Hicks' Defining peace* in particular, was developed, based on the analysis made above to demonstrate how a culture of violence is symbolically legitimated as the mainstream culture in schools – how the cultural beliefs and ideas of students and teachers interact in schools and how this interaction relates to school violence and beyond, namely, to national violence. The analysis presented the nuanced distinction between forms of direct and indirect violence. For instance, the culture of *iljin* reflects militarism. This is an example of a *colonized false ideology* which escalates the recreation of the culture of violence indirectly (e.g. human rights become misrecognised as a new form of oppression); *compete-and-study ideology* which lead both students and teachers to disregard social justice (e.g. by fostering selfishness among students); and *inequality* which exacerbates the denial of diversity unconsciously and overtly (e.g. by excluding students with disabilities in classroom).

Finally, the findings of this research opened up the possibility of changing school culture, namely through pedagogical change, by locating peace education within the broader context of values education. That is to say, at least *some* teachers and students realize that schools need change (e.g. by abolishing control mechanisms) and that this can potentially be done by teaching and learning values such as cooperation, solidarity and the Korean traditional value called *chung*. These values suggested are key ideas of peace education, in a Korean context, and at the same time strategies to raise individuals with moral character.

Overall, this research was able to present how the culture of violence in

South Korea has formed school culture in general and how it is perpetuated by individuals within institutions. Lastly, it showed how peace education can possibly be applied in South Korean schools to build a culture of peace.

All in all, I consider these four main findings to shed a new light on South Korean education. To put it as succinctly as possible, I have argued that any reasonable analysis and mitigation of the problems affecting South Korean schooling need to take account of the concepts of *control mechanism*, *symbolic violence*, *peace education* and *chung*.

To rehearse my line of argument in slightly more detail, recall that in Chapter 4, I depicted the lived experiences of students and teachers which generate the overall school culture. Section 4.2 brought out how students mediate the cultural elements in their school life. These elements were in line with the theories of Bourdieu's *symbolic violence* in the broad sense given in Chapter 2. Among the various concepts and ideas in symbolic violence, I focused on linking *habitus* and *field,* to explain these elements.

In Section 4.3, I analysed the symbolic and institutionalised violence in schools. As I focused on analysing how systems and mechanisms are employed symbolically, I created four themes: stressful control systems, languages, intolerance and school violence, namely the culture of *iljin.* In linking these data to theories, I brought in *misrecognition* as the main explanatory idea, from Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence. This was in line with my perception of the covert role of education in South Korean society. To illustrate, students are forced either to become conformist to the school system and beliefs or to become

defiers with a contradictory *habitus*, which in the analysis I called 'resistance'. I argued there that resistance is not about an individual choice but about a compulsory system which was made to be resisted. Yet resistance itself also becomes conformist, domesticated and normalized in the system. Both forms of *habitus* are imposed upon students by forcing teachers to be politically neutral. Political neutrality is the basic value of education; thus both teachers and students are forbidden to think critically. Students hardly perceive that their habitual behaviours are seen as resistance. Yet they know their behaviours represented as helplessness offer standards for distinguishing good from bad students.

Students are systemically forced to memorize an immense amount of knowledge and internalize the values of non-critical thinking, that is, avoiding controversial issues which are irrelevant to examinations. In this context, the control mechanism over students' behaviours and also promoting the indoctrination of knowledge seem to be symbolically justified as *education*. Furthermore, socially transmitted habits based on self-interest express themselves through abusive language and dealing practices and these become even more symbolized as the intolerance of differences.

Section 4.4 analysed the experience of teachers under the theme *authoritative school management* and *the increase of atypical employment*. The data were linked to both the approaches of Bourdieu's symbolic violence mentioned above. This linkage goes beyond the simple connection to theories of *habitus*, *field* and *misrecognition*. The data in this section provided more holistic linkages of the symbolic violence inherent in the relationship between students and teachers. Consumer-centred approaches generate dealing practices in schools,

while the pursuit of human rights, seen as Western and alienating by some teachers, has become the ideology which bans the use of corporal punishment. Therefore, fostering the human rights of students connotes, for teachers at least, the removal of the power to control students in less formal ways, and teachers believe that direct physical control over students is more educational.

Finally, Section 4.5 analysed *How to change the culture of violence to peace: any possibilities of peace education?* In this section, I presented four main values and strategies suggested by teachers for making schools more propitious to peace culture. The data paved the way for the discussion of peace education in Chapter 5, in the broad context of values education and its pedagogical aspects. I have argued throughout the thesis that this involves the deconstruction and subversion of a culture of violence, in order to create a culture of peace. Those who ascribe to a deterministic reading of Bourdieu's framework of social fields and *habitus* may find my optimism here somewhat misplaced. However, as I noted in Chapter 2, there are other less deterministic ways to read Bourdieu on this point, according to which the concerted effort of individuals can help transform social fields. The belief that individual change can ultimately bring about a wider social change is realistic and necessary if we are to retain any hope in our educational systems.

6.2 Limitations of the research

In this section, six main limitations of this research are identified. The first part

(four limitations) concerns the research practice and the next part (two limitations) considers analysis of the data.

First of all, the schools, except for Y girls' high school, have more or less similar social-economic backgrounds. As noted, I was able to start the fieldwork by contacting some teachers who were interested in my research. Interestingly, Bongsu and Minsuk – the most critical persons in my research – used to work in schools where most students had low socio-economic backgrounds. They were genuinely interested in students who face a range of difficulties and are categorized as bad students in schools. Naturally, their guidance led me to schools located in such areas. This is why the main site, S high school, and two other sites – D middle school and G high school – have similar backgrounds. This being so, the culture of *iljin* and the ways of perceiving studying and other cultural elements may not be triangulated well enough in my study.

Second, the range of teachers whom I met was not adequately diverse – it stands to reason that those who volunteered to take part in the interviews had somehow an 'open character'. Teachers who participated in interviews were thus open to sharing their experiences and thoughts and some of them showed interest in my research and the theme of peace education. However, I was not able to get in touch with the less approachable teachers who were much criticized by students. Before starting the research, I had hoped to build some rapport with quite authoritative and arguably 'oppressive' teachers. However, these teachers were very reluctant to accept my observation in their classes and declined to be interviewed by an outsider. Only two teachers – Wonro and Suchol – can potentially be categorized as belonging to this category, but they were not

teaching the first grade students in classes 6, 7 and 8. This may have generated limitations on the data that were obtained in this research about teachers' experiences.

Third, in part of the research I wound up in the dual role of a teacher and researcher. Although I made every effort possible to distinguish between these roles in my dealings with student participants, that may not always have been possible. Even where this dual-role problem was not an issue, being a 'fly on the wall' inside a classroom may disrupt some of the ordinary dynamics and make students behave differently than they normally would have.

Fourth, I met with some practical problems which meant that I was able to conduct the interviews of students and observation only in the first semester, whereas I interviewed teachers in the second semester when I was not observing. Isoo and some teachers told me that the two semesters are not the same. For instance, the first semester is allegedly more 'in chaos' and likely to have more conflicts because both students and teachers are in new classes. This may create more power-gaining conflicts in classes and so on. However, by the time the second semester begins, students and teachers have somehow created unofficial rules in class which make more orderly management possible.

Some limitations relating to the data analysis also need to be explicated. First of all, in order to conduct a fully fledged genealogical analysis of the current situation in South Korean schools, much more attention would need to be given to the possible *Confucian legacy* informing the school culture. This has already been mentioned in passing. For example, as noted in Section 3.3.2, there remain some

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Confucian ways of thinking which clearly inform the bureaucratic system in school management: Teachers should do as the principal tells them to do; young teachers take all the responsibility for administrative works and do not ask questions to older teachers for the sake of not disrespecting their elders. In addition, there remains the customary thought that teachers should (ideally) be highly respected by students and parents (see Section 4.4). This explicit legacy conflicts with some ideas in the Students' Human Rights Ordinance – creating various tensions.

The Confucian legacy is thus still influential in some circumstances and one may argue that it escalates conflicts in school culture. However, it did not appear as a main reason for the culture of violence explored in this research. Yet I note it here as a limitation of this research that constraints of time and space prevented me from giving close attention to the whole genealogy (in a Foucauldian sense; Foucault, 1980) of South Korean power mindsets – a study which would need to take on board more Confucian insights.

Second, again for limitations of time and space, *gender differences* were not analysed in detail, although 'feminized' aspects within the culture of *iljin* were explored in Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. Gender issues are critical in understanding the culture of violence, yet the analysis of gender was covered more in a broad sense of military (masculine) culture than by providing a deep analysis of gender differences as such. Incidentally, I do agree with the use of the critical features of a gender lens in peace education; yet the purpose of this thesis was to present a more holistic interpretation of the interrelationship among students and teachers. Although it was not covered as a separate theme in this thesis, it is has been noted

throughout that gender issues may have been instructive in generating a culture of violence in schools, a topic which I would be interested to study in detail in future research.

6.3 Implications for future research

In order to ameliorate the limitations in this research and also to explore further the schooling in South Korea, with particular reference to the cultures of violence and peace, five possible research avenues for the future are suggested in this section.

First, it is necessary to conduct fieldwork also in schools located in areas where students have mid to high socio-economic backgrounds. This was one of the concerns during the research, but it was appreciably hard to make contact with such schools because they were very sensitive about privacy issues. To understand and explore schooling as a whole in South Korea, a more mixed sample of schools should ideally be studied. In so doing, I urge the applying of *critical ethnography* also in other chosen sites, like that used in the present project.

Second, it is necessary to explore more diverse voices in understanding the part played by teachers in school culture. In the case of students, even if direct research of their experiences is lacking, researchers and others outside schools can use newspaper reports, blogs and other similar avenues to overhear students' voices and experiences. However, when it comes to teachers, their real thoughts,

experiences and culture are rarely encountered. In other words, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between their 'actual selves' and their 'presented self-concepts'. These things are unlikely to be exposed outside school; thus, it is quite difficult to know what teachers think and feel deep down. However, it is at the same time apparent that teachers are among the critical agents in forming school cultures. Hence, it is necessary to focus on teachers' voices in order to understand schooling in South Korea. In so doing, I suggest that *narrative inquiry* should be brought into qualitative research.

Third, schooling in South Korea is divided into three levels – primary (6 years), middle (3 years) and high (3 years). To be more realistic, all levels of schooling should be studied to obtain a view of South Korean school culture as a whole. However, this research focuses on high schools in South Korea, the need to explore also the school culture in both primary and middle schools should be realized. Such an approach is almost unheard of in South Korean school research, yet it is critically needed. Hence, I suggest the need for *longitudinal ethnographic studies* to be undertaken in conjunction with *case studies* in primary, middle and high schools.

Fourth, the influence of schooling should be critically examined in retrospect after students have had the whole experience. As explained, students' main purpose in studying in schools is to enter elite universities. Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesise that students will feel satisfied or dissatisfied about their achievements according to the universities, if any, they enter. Yet they may also have a clearer retrospective view of what went well and what badly in their schooling. In this regard, it should be interesting to explore the stories of freshmen

at university – how they recall their schooling and how it has influenced their lives. In order to conduct this research, I propose doing *mixed methods*: a quantitative approach to gathering general thoughts and experiences, and a qualitative approach, namely interviews, to explore in more depth the meaning of schooling in their lives.

Finally, fifth, as suggested in the previous subsection, studying South Korean schooling through a) a historic Confucian lens and b) a gendered lens would both be appealing – and I aim at such studies in future research.

All of the future research projects discussed in this section could be compared and triangulated with the present thesis in order to analyse the school culture in South Korea even more holistically and critically.

6.4 Suggestions about South Korean school education and peace education

In this section, some suggestions about future of South Korean schools and peace education are elaborated. This research has shown how school culture is filled with symbolized, routinized, normalized and institutionalised violence. Both the school management system and daily cultural elements, in combination with diverse mechanisms and symbols in schools, provide evidence of such violence. The findings indicate that the future of schooling in South Korea depends on the way that we perceive this situation and on our willingness to engage it head-on.

That is to say, if schools continue to play their role in perpetuating social

violence – both in direct and indirect forms – it may cause more conflicts in society. Presumably, if schools remain in the status quo, the problems depicted in this research will worsen rather than being resolved. For example, competition will be even more intense, which will exacerbate educational inequality. As argued in Section 5.4, the 'compete and study' ideology stresses competition and individual meritocracy which justifies the standardization, levelling and private education in South Korea (e.g. evidenced in Section 2.4.1). This makes people believe that economic capital as well as social capital is the most influential factor in education for the future, intensifying the *hakbul* society even more (see Section 2.4). Hence, explicit school violence may become more cruel and psychologically more serious, and also the intolerance to diversity (see Section 5.4).

Additionally, teachers may become even more controlled by the state and likely to be increasingly recast in the role of civil servants rather than educators (see e.g. Section 5.3). Also, teachers may be reduced to service provider to education consumers – that is, fall prey to a dehumanized economic-based understanding influenced by neo-liberal policies.

Therefore, schools should ideally not merely wait for an outside influence to make changes but to start reforming themselves in order to create more peaceful environments – thus changing the violent cultures presented here. In this regard, teachers in this research mentioned indigenous values upon which change could be built, such as cooperation, solidarity with local communities and the Korean traditional value called *chung* (see Sections 4.5 and 5.5). As already noted, the findings and analysis of this thesis suggest some deep-rooted philosophical and practical changes – namely, changes driven by peace education as a form of

values education.

The violence depicted in this research has cultural connotations which reflect social ideologies, beliefs and values. The data in this thesis may present South Korean aspects which are similar to other countries, yet they also represent unique South Korean forms of cultural violence. That is to say, the ways that violence is symbolized, systematized and spread as common practice in schools stem from certain unresolved past experiences mingled with globalized neoliberal values and systems. To illustrate, within the school system and culture, ideals like being *politically neutral* in educational field, which seem to stem in tandem from the experience of dictatorship, neo-liberal values and/or global neo-liberalism, have been imported into South Korean schools under the purpose of raising citizens of global competitiveness, in other words, making individuals to fit into the internationalised system and market. Those ideals make people believe that they should value and focus on building individual merit to compete with others, thus intensifying the 'compete and study' ideology and rejecting the value of social justice (see Section 5.4). This unhealthy admixture of militarism and neo-liberalism has stimulated unique ways of encouraging and practising violence – i.e. by misrecognizing education; through military practices influencing the culture of *iljin*, and through subverting people's understandings of teachers' authority and students' human rights.

Peace education needs to cover both aspects, direct and indirect violence, and find a way to change them to peace (both positive and negative) through education. In theory, peace education aims to reach roughly two broad ideals – macro and micro change. That is, peace education requires social action to make

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changes at the state-system level (e.g. reform of education systems such as standardization) and also educating individuals to learn skills, attitudes and values to change themselves until they can create a peaceful culture. Both actions go together according to the core issues of peace in each context. As peace education has both local and global aspects, it emphasizes universal values such as human rights, care, justice and respect, yet it takes different forms according to the local context.

Above everything, the interrelated relationship of direct and indirect violence should be stressed – symptomized through *colonized false ideology* in particular (see Section 5.4). I have created this concept to represent the unique situation which reflects a persisting colonial mentality of dominated people and how such an ideology is falsely making people believe that they are progressive and emancipated because they are physically and economically independent. The analysis of the data has showed that peace education needs to consider those post-colonial aspects of values and systems. As human rights have been misrepresented as merely Western political values in South Korea, so the root-causes of the culture of violence have taken on uniquely Korean forms. For instance, remaining military practices and the colonial legacy are deeply infused in school classrooms and in the culture of *iljin,* in particular. This acknowledgement of the unique nature of post-colonial societies may be partly missing in general peace-education theories. That is to say, peace educators sometimes falsely assume that the universal values, skills and attitudes which peace education considers important will all be welcomed in every context just because they aim to create peace. Moreover, peace-education discourse is often insensitive to the subtle relationship

between direct and indirect violence.

This being so, peace education in South Korea will run into difficulties in building consensus between different interest groups. Moreover, even though South Korean peace education seems to emphasize reunification education, people rarely conceptualize South Korea as a conflict/post-conflict area but see it rather as one of the developed countries. However, as I have argued in this thesis, South Korean society combines both these characteristics. The demonstrated root-causes of violence incorporate aspects of both direct and indirect violence in the form of *colonized false ideology*. This ideology writes general peace education off as an alien Western value. If peace is seen as a value of Western advanced countries only, it can make people believe that we are incapable of building peace at our current stage of development. Despite this concern, I strongly maintain that peace education is relevant in South Korean schools because its approach suggests holistic and critical views of violence that transcend individual societies although they have to take account of the uniqueness of societies.

I have argued that the change from a violent culture to a peace culture requires individual transformation, thus a new *pedagogy* has been pinpointed as the key of the transformational process. The teachers' own concerns and ideas of values and the ways to achieve changes in South Korean schools, which foregrounded both peace education and traditional Korean values (see Section 5.5), support this idea.

I hope my discussion has widened the understanding of peace education; namely that it can be understood in a broader context than is normally the case,

especially in South Korea. Peace education must be understood not just in the realm of reunification education but must and can be used as analytical frame or tool to examine peace–violence relations in education and society much more generally.

6.5 Summary of this chapter

In this final chapter, the main points of this thesis and reflections upon research process and outcomes were discussed. To begin this chapter, four key findings of this thesis were discussed reflecting research questions in the first chapter. Then, I reflected on my research process including the analysis of the data. The reflection began by stating limitations of this research. In this section, I distinguished two parts – the research process and the analysis process. Following this section, some implications for future research were proposed. Finally, I reflected upon the future of South Korean schooling based on this research and offered some suggestions for peace education in the local context.

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APPENDICES 1. STUDENTS' HUMAN RIGHTS ORDINANCE

Gyeonggi-do Students' Human Rights Ordinance∗
Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education
October 2010

Chapter 1. General Provisions

Article 1. Purpose

1. The purpose of this Ordinance is to guarantee the dignity, values, freedoms and rights as [human beings] that would fulfill the students' human rights during the course of school education based on Article 31 of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea, [United Nations (UN)] Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 12 and 13 of the Fundamental Education Act, and Article 18 paragraph 4 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Article 2. Definitions

1. The definition of terms used in this Ordinance is as follows:
   'School' refers to schools within Gyeonggi Province according to Article 2 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
   'Student' refers to persons enrolled in a school as provided in subparagraph 1.
   'Teaching Faculty' refers to employees of Article 19 paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
   'Students' Human Rights' refers to all rights among the dignity, values, freedom[s] and rights as human beings that can be applied to students as recognized by international conventions and international customs joined by the Republic of Korea such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, or as guaranteed by the Constitution and laws.

Article 3. Principles on Guaranteeing the Students' Human Rights

1. The students' human rights provided in this Ordinance consist the minimum set of rights that must be guaranteed for students to maintain dignity as human beings and pursue happiness. The human rights of students shall not be neglected due to reasons such as not being listed in this Ordinance.
2. Limitations on students' human rights can be made, based on school regulations enacted or revised with the participation of students, when necessary for the purpose of education only within the minimal range that does not infringe upon the fundamental human rights.

Article 4. Responsibilities

1. When establishing policies on education, the Superintendent of Education must strive to fulfill the students' human rights.
2. The founders and operators of schools, [principals], teaching faculty, parents or guardians of students, etc. shall strive to respect the students' human rights and to

prevent their violation.

3. Students shall learn and protect their human rights, and shall strive to respect the human rights of others such as teachers.

4. The Superintendent of Education and the founder and operators of schools shall strive to provide educational facilities and environments suitable for the educational activities of students.

Chapter 2. Students' Human Rights
                    Part 1. [Right against Discrimination]

Article 5. [Right against Discrimination]

1. Students have the right not [to] be discriminated [based on] gender, religion, age, social status, hometown, home country, ethnicity, language, disabilities, physical features such as appearance, pregnancy or childbirth, family situations, race, skin color, ideals, political opinions, sexual orientation, medical history, disciplinary action, grades, etc.

2. The School must actively strive to guarantee the students' human rights for those suffering discrimination set forth in the above Paragraph 1.

                    Part 2. Freedom from Violence and Danger

Article 6. Right to be Free from Violence

1. Students have the right to be free from all physical and verbal violence including, but not limited to, being treated as an outcast, bullying and sexual violence.

2. Corporal punishment by the School is prohibited.

3. The School and the Superintendent of Education must make utmost efforts to prevent [treatment of students as] outcasts, bullying, sexual violence and other school violence, as well as to prevent corporal punishment.

Article 7. Safety from Danger

1. The School shall strive to organize and maintain a safety management system to ensure safety for the students.

2. In the event that an accident occurs at the School, the principal of the School shall promptly rescue the victim, and shall cooperate with relevant institutions and the community to prevent such accidents [from happening again].

                    Part 3. Right to [Education]

Article 8. Right to [Education]

1. Without justifiable reasons according to laws and school regulations, the right [to education] of students shall not be violated.

2. The School shall not administer educational courses arbitrarily and shall not force students to participate in voluntary extracurricular activities in or outside of

the School.

3. Vocational high schools must strive to guarantee the safety and right to education of students in practical courses.

4. The School and the Superintendent of Education must make utmost efforts to guarantee the [right to education] of students with disabilities (including those with temporary disabilities), students from multi-cultural families, students in arts and physical education, students having difficulties in learning, etc.

Article 9. Freedom to [Engage in] Educational Activities Aside from the Formal Curriculum

1. Students have the right to freely select and take part in educational activities aside from the formal/regular curriculum such as evening self-study sessions, supplementary lessons, etc.

2. The School shall not force students to attend evening self-study sessions and supplementary lessons, etc.

3. The School shall strive to guarantee the right of students to choose [among diverse] educational [activities] by developing and operating various programs based on the opinions of students for educational activities aside from the formal curriculum, such as after-school classes.

Article 10. Right to Rest

1. In order to form and develop a healthy and unique self, students have the right to take appropriate rest and be free of excessive study loads.

2. The School shall not violate the students' right to rest by forcing educational activities aside from the formal curriculum.

3. The Superintendent of Education may limit educational activities aside from the formal curriculum in order to guarantee the right of students to rest.

Part 4. Confidentiality and Freedom [to Enjoy Privacy] and Rights to Access Information

Article 11. Right to Express [One's] Personality

1. Students have the right to express their personality through their appearance including clothing and hairstyles.

2. The School shall not regulate the students' hair length.

3. The School shall not restrict the rights of the above Paragraph 1 through school regulations without complying with the procedures of Article 18 and without justifiable reason.

Article 12. Freedom to [Enjoy Privacy]

1. Students shall have the freedom to possess and own personal items without receiving unjustifiable interference.

2. Unless urgently needed for the safety of students and faculty, the Teaching Faculty cannot inspect the personal items of students without their consent. In the

event that the Teaching Faculty inspects the items of students as needed for educational purposes, the inspection shall be limited to the necessary minimum, and general inspections on all students shall not be conducted.

3. The Teaching Faculty shall not check the students' personal records such as diaries and notes in principle, and special caution shall be taken when doing so for educational purposes.

4. The School shall not prohibit possession of cellular phones by students. The School can restrict the use and possession of cellular phones when there are justifiable reasons such as class time and when in accordance with the procedures of Article 18.

5. The School can install closed circuit television (CCTV) only when it is difficult to achieve purposes such as safety using other methods. Students' opinions on the installation of CCTV and location of the [facility] shall be [considered], and the location must be clearly marked so that the CCTV is easily recognizable by any person.

Article 13. Right to Protection of Personal [Information]

1. Students have the right to have their personal information, such as [those] regarding family, friends, grades, and disciplinary records, etc. protected.

2. The School shall not force students to wear their nametag outside of school.

3. The School shall comply with legal and appropriate methods and procedures when collecting, handling and managing information concerning students.

4. The School shall not disclose or provide others with personal information of students, such as non-payment of tuition fees, without the consent of the student or his/her parent or guardian.

5. No person shall disclose personal information that may be disadvantageous to a student.

Article 14. Right to Access Information

1. Students, and their parents or guardians, have the right to view their school records at any time.

2. Students have the right to demand the School for disclosure of information that may have an effect on them.

3. Students and parents or guardians have the right to request for the correction or deletion of records that contain inaccurate contents, contents with no direct relation to educational activities, and contents that unreasonably infringe upon the rights of students.

4. The School must disclose information on school finances, such as budgets and balance accounts, to students through methods and contents that can be easily understood by students.

Part 5. Freedom of Conscience and Religion, and Freedom of Expression

Article 15. Freedom of Conscience and Religion

1. Students shall have freedom of conscience including their outlook on the world

and life, values and moral judgments, etc. and the freedom of religion.

2. The School shall not force students to apologize, promise or otherwise testify to [matters] that may conflict with their conscience.

3. The School shall not force students to participate in religious events or take classes on religion without offering alternative classes.

Article 16. Freedom of Expression of [Own View]

1. Students have the right to freely express their [own view] on issues that affect them.

2. In the event that a student exercises his/her freedom of expression, the School shall not make unjustified or arbitrary interference or restrictions.

3. The School shall guarantee freedom of expression as much as possible in the student press, newspapers, and internet homepages, and shall make the effort to provide the necessary facilities, and administrative and financial support.

Part 6. Right [to Undertake Independent Activities] and Participation

Article 17. Right to [Undertake Independent Activities]

1. Independent activities of students such as clubs shall be ensured.

2. The School shall guarantee the freedom and independence of students to [form, recruit members and operate their own] organization, and shall not restrict participation as member of an organization for reasons such as grades.

Article 18. Right to Participate in Enactment and Revision of School Regulations and School Rules

1. Students have the right to participate in the enactment and revision of school regulations and school rules.

2. The School shall enact or revise school regulations and school rules while respecting the students' human rights, and post this on the school homepage.

3. In enacting and revising school regulations and school rules, the School shall listen to the opinions of students, and shall guarantee the rights of independent student organizations, such as the student council, to submit opinions.

Article 19. Right to Participate in Policy Making

1. Students have the right to participate in the operation of the School and in policymaking [regarding] education [by] the Office of Education.

2. Independent student organizations such as the student council and voluntary societies of students have the right to state their opinions on matters related to student rights.

3. The School principal and teachers shall make efforts to regularly listen to opinions [of the students] through meetings with student representatives.

4. Student representatives can participate and speak at the school [administration] committee on matters affecting students.

5. The School principal and the Superintendent of Education shall guarantee the participation of students when determining matters affecting students.

Part 7. Welfare Rights

Article 20. Rights on School Welfare

1. Students have the right to receive appropriate support, such as counseling, to overcome various circumstances such as academic underachievement, being a victim of violence, family problems, delinquency, etc. and for the development of identity such as discovering aptitudes and searching for future career paths.
2. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall provide prioritized support such as budget allotment for students having difficulties fulfilling their rights due to economic, social and cultural reasons such as poverty, disabilities, or being members of multi-cultural families.
3. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall establish and modify policies so that students can receive needed counseling to enjoy their right to social welfare, followed by concrete and practical assistance.
4. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall construct a cooperative network with local institutions concerning child welfare and human rights for students needing special counseling and care. In particular, programs that can educate parents or guardians and induce their participation and cooperation must be developed and operated.

Article 21. Rights [regarding] Educational Environment

1. Students have the right to receive education in a healthy and pleasant environment.
2. The School shall strive to establish optimal educational environments by procuring the appropriate quantity and quality of books and library space, maintaining a clean environment, constructing appropriate restrooms, locker rooms and rest areas, maintaining appropriate heating and cooling [systems], increasing grass spaces, etc.

Article 22. Right to Enjoy Cultural Activities

1. Students have the right to enjoy various cultural activities.
2. In order to support students' various cultural activities, the School shall listen to the opinions of students, and develop and operate cultural programs such as [educational activities], performances and exhibitions.
3. The Superintendent of Education shall establish a cooperative system between schools and regions for the smooth operation of the abovementioned Paragraph 2.

Article 23. Right to School Lunch

1. Students have the right to be provided with a school lunch made with safe food ingredients.
2. The School shall provide students with information related to lunch meals such as food ingredients and the supplier, conduct regular surveys on lunch meals and [make] the results [public].

3. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall strive to provide environmentally friendly school lunches made with agricultural products from nearby areas.

4. The Superintendent of Education shall strive to provide directly managed school lunches and free school lunches in compulsory education courses.

Article 24. Right to Health

1. Students have the right to maintain optimal health conditions, and to receive appropriate treatment when sick and have easy access to health facilities.

2. Female students have the right not to be placed at a disadvantage in the event of being absent or not being able to participate in class due to pains caused by menstruation, and the School shall take appropriate measures so that female students in menstruation period are not placed at a disadvantage.

3. The School shall strive to procure a sufficient health room that students can use when they are sick or injured.

Part 8. Discipline and [Procedural] Rights

Article 25. Discipline and [Procedural] Rights

1. Discipline of students shall be conducted according to legal procedures such as prior notification for the reason [for the disciplinary action], fair deliberation council, guarantee of opportunity for defense, guarantee of right to appoint an agent, guarantee to [a rehearing upon] request, etc.

2. The School shall aim [to maintain discipline among students] and the return of the disciplined student before and after the disciplinary action, and for this, the School shall cooperate with the local community, parents or guardians, etc.

3. The School shall not publicly announce the contents of discipline, and shall not violate the human rights of students in the teaching methods and procedures for students, including the merit and demerit system.

Part 9. Right to be Protected from Violation of Rights

Article 26. Right to Counseling and [Inquiry]

1. Any student has the right to request for counseling and [for an inquiry] from the Student Rights Defense Officer, [in cases] of violation of students' human rights.

2. Any student has the right to petition on matters related to the human rights of any student using documents, etc. to the relevant institution.

3. Any student shall be guaranteed confidentiality [regarding] requests or petitions [made] according to Paragraphs 1 and 2, and shall not be placed at a disadvantage [for] exercising such rights.

4. The Student Rights Defense Officer, school principal and the Superintendent of Education are liable to examine requests and petitions, and the results of such examination must be notified to the person who made such a request or petition.

Part 10. Guarantee of Rights for Minority Students

Article 27. Guarantee of Rights for Minority Students

1. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall make the utmost effort to guarantee the rights appropriate to the characteristics of minority students such as those in poverty, with disabilities, with one-parent families, belonging to multi-cultural families, athletes, etc.
2. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall separately provide career and employment programs for minority students and human rights education programs needed [to eradicate] biases and discrimination against minority students.
3. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall provide necessary [facilities] to disabled students for educational activities within and outside of the School and guarantee their participation, and shall make efforts to provide appropriate education and evaluation methods [for them].
4. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall take measures so that students in poverty are not excluded from educational activities such as school trips due to their family situation.
5. The School and the Superintendent of Education shall take measures so that students from multi-cultural families can engage in school activities without discrimination due to language and/or cultural differences. Furthermore, the School and Superintendent of Education shall make efforts so that the transfer and admission opportunities of students from multi-cultural families are not unreasonably violated.

Chapter 3. Promotion of Students' Human Rights

Part 1. Human Rights Education

Article 28. Gyeonggi-do Students' Human Rights Day

1. In order to increase interest and [help fulfill] the human rights of students, the Superintendent of Education may designate a Gyeonggi-do Students' Human Rights Day.
2. The Superintendent of Education shall conduct projects [fit for] the Students' Human Rights Day and induce the participation of students, [members of the] faculty, and residents within the province.

Article 29. Public Relations

1. The Superintendent of Education shall make public relations efforts by publishing and distributing manuals and educational books for the public, middle and high school students and elementary school students on students' human rights guaranteed by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and in this Ordinance.

Article 30. Human Rights Education and Training within the School

1. The School shall conduct education on the students' human rights for at least two hours per semester to students, and also include contents on labor rights taking into consideration field and laboratory work in vocational high schools and the increase of student part-time jobs.

2. The School shall conduct faculty training on the students' human rights at least twice a year.

3. The School shall guarantee and support autonomous human rights activities voluntarily performed by students.

Article 31. Training and Support on Human Rights for Faculty

1. The Superintendent of Education shall include the students' human rights in various training programs for members of the faculty.

2. The Superintendent of Education shall develop and distribute educational materials and programs for human rights education in schools and faculty training.

Article 32. Education for Guardians

1. The School shall hold educational sessions and meetings on students' human rights with parents or guardians at least twice a year.

2. The Superintendent of Education shall develop and distribute human rights education materials for parents or guardians.

Part 2. [Implementation] Plans on Human Rights, etc.

Article 33. Human Rights [Inquiry]

1. The Superintendent of Education shall conduct [inquiries] on the status of students' human rights within the Gyeonggi Province every year.

2. Once the results of the [inquiries] from the above Paragraph 1 are confirmed, the Superintendent of Education shall publicly announce such, and report it to the Gyeonggi Provincial Council.

Article 34. Drafting of [Implementation] Plans

1. The Superintendent of Education shall strive to facilitate the necessary educational activities and the appropriate [type of educational], welfare and resting facilities necessary to fulfill students' human rights.

2. In order to achieve the goals of the above Paragraph 1, the Superintendent of Education must adopt [implementation] plans every three years for [the fulfillment of the] students' human rights.

3. [In preparing] the plans [under] paragraph 2, the Students' Human Rights Screening Committee must [deliberate on them], and the opinions of students, teachers, guardians and residents must be taken into account through public hearings, debates, local meetings, etc.

Article 35. Gyeonggi Provincial Student Human Rights Screening Committee

1. The Gyeonggi Provincial Student Human Rights Screening Committee shall be organized in order to deliberate on the matters pertaining to the adoption of policies and evaluations of the Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education regarding students' human rights.

2. The Gyeonggi Provincial Student Human Rights Screening Committee shall be composed of no more than [twenty] members, and the Student Rights Defense [Office] shall be an ex-officio member.

3. Aside from the ex-officio member, other committee members shall be appointed by the Superintendent of Education [from] among those who [have] any of the following [qualifications]:

• A person who is an expert in education, child welfare, juveniles, medicine, law, or human rights recommended by relevant non-profit civil organizations, or persons who applied through open-hiring procedures;

• A member of the Student Participation Committee;

• A person residing in the province who has high interest in students' human rights issues and has high motivation to participate, and who has applied through open-hiring procedures; and

• Public officials of the Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education whose work is related to students' human rights.

4. The Gyeonggi Provincial Student Human Rights Screening Committee shall have one Committee Chair and one Committee Vice-chair, and the Chair and Vice-chair shall be elected from amongst the committee members.

5. The Gyeonggi Provincial Student Human Rights Screening Committee shall deliberate on the following [the matters]:

• Establishment of students' [implementation] plans on human rights;

• Policy reforms on students' human rights; and

• Other matters proposed by the Superintendent of Education related to the improvement of students' human rights.

6. For the efficiency of committee activities, a sub-committee can be organized, and through votes by the Committee, parts of any of the subparagraphs in Paragraph 5 may be delegated to the sub-committee.

7. Matters not prescribed in this Ordinance, which are necessary for the operation of the Committee, shall be determined according to education rules.

Article 36. Student Participation Committee

1. The Superintendent of Education shall [establish] a Gyeonggi Provincial Student Participation Committee for the purpose of taking into account the opinions of students concerning policies related to the students.

2. The Gyeonggi Provincial Student Participation Committee shall be organized [with] no more than [one hundred] members.

3. The members of the Gyeonggi Provincial Student Participation Committee shall be selected by lottery among students who applied via open-hiring procedures. Provided, in order to diversify the composition of the Committee and to reflect the opinions of minorities, the Superintendent of Education may appoint approximately [twenty] members according to a separately established procedure.

4. The Gyeonggi Provincial Student Participation Committee can submit opinions on the following matters to the Superintendent of Education and Student Rights

Defense Officer:
• Matters pertaining to the revision of the Gyeonggi Provincial Student Rights Ordinance;
• Matters pertaining to [inquiries] on students' human rights;
• Matters pertaining to students' [implementation] plans on human rights; and
• Other matters necessary to realize students' human rights and to promote participation of students.
5. The Superintendent of Education may organize a Student Participation Committee for each local office of education.

Article 37. Evaluation per School and Guidelines

1. The Superintendent of Education shall examine the conditions of human rights of students per school biannually, and take the appropriate measures for improvements.
2. To fulfill the rights as prescribed in Chapter 2, the Superintendent of Education may, if necessary, establish detailed guidelines and present them to the schools. In this case, the school shall perform upon such guidelines and report the results to the Superintendent of Education.

Article 38. Support for Civic Activities

1. In order to guarantee the students' human rights, the Superintendent of Education shall establish a cooperative system with civic activities, and make every effort to provide support for such civic activities.

Chapter 4. Relief on Violation of Human Rights of Students

Article 39. Appointment of Student Rights Defense Officers

1. There shall be Student Rights Defense Officers in order to provide counseling and relief for any violation of students' human rights.
2. The Student Rights Defense Officers shall be appointed by the Superintendent of Education with the approval of the Gyeonggi Provincial Student Human Rights Screening Committee, excluding the necessary committee member, from persons with abundant knowledge or experience on students' human rights.
3. The Student Rights Defense Officers shall be composed of no more than five fulltime members, and they shall be placed in their respective jurisdictions as determined by the Superintendent of Education.
4. The term of office of the Student Rights Defense Officers shall be three years, which can be renewed only once.
5. The Student Rights Defense Officers shall independently and diligently fulfill their obligations in accordance with international human rights standards including that of the Constitution, related laws, and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.
6. In relation to the duties of the Student Rights Defense Officers, important matters such as recommendations to reform policies shall be determined through meetings of the Student Rights Defense Officers.

Article 40. Prohibition of Concurrent Offices

1. The Student Rights Defense Officers cannot hold concurrent offices with the National Assembly, provincial councils, public employees, or faculties.
2. The Student Rights Defense Officers cannot hold concurrent offices with companies or organizations with a special interest in the Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education.

Article 41. Duties of Student Rights Defense Officers

1. The Student Rights Defense Officers shall engage in the following:
• Counseling on the violation of students' human rights;
• Examination of request for relief from violation of students' human rights and [inquiries] of authorities;
• Provision of suggestions for appropriate rectification measures for the violation of students' human rights;
• Provision of suggestions for the restructuring of policies in order to improve students' human rights;
• Public notification on the contents from subparagraphs 2 to 4; and
• Other necessary operations to perform all of the above functions.
2. Notwithstanding the regulations of Paragraph 1, [for cases] falling under any of the following subparagraphs, the Student Rights Defense Officers can dismiss the [claims:]
• In the event that it is clear that the victim does not want further inquiry on the [application for inquiry] by a third person;
• In the event that at the time [the inquiry] or counseling is requested, the case is [undergoing], or has ended, a process of seeking relief or mediation through court trial, investigations by investigative agencies, or other [legal processes];
• In the event that the claim for [inquiry] is submitted anonymously or by using an alias; and
• When the Student Rights Defense Officers deem that counseling or examination would not be appropriate.

Article 42. Regarding Administrative Organization

1. The Student Rights Defense Officers may organize an administrative [office] to perform their duties.
2. The administrative [office] shall have personnel such as public employees, and [inquiry] experts to assist with the Student Rights Defense Officers' tasks.
3. Public employees and inquiry experts in the administrative [office] shall perform their duties under the command of the Student Rights Defense Officers.
4. Matters [regarding the administration office] and [inquiry] experts stated in subparagraphs 1 to 3 and matters pertaining to the services of the Student Rights Defense Officers shall be determined by school rules.

Article 43. Counseling Office for each District Office of Education

1. Each local office of education shall have a students' human rights counseling office.
2. The counseling office stated in Paragraph 1 shall provide consultation on the human rights of students, and the results must be regularly reported to the Student Rights Defense Officer. Provided that, in the event that prompt measures are necessary or when it is an urgent issue, it shall be reported immediately.

Article 44. Relief Application and Measures for Students' Human Rights Abuse

1. In [case] of violation of students' human rights or the risk of such violation [exists], anyone, including the student, can apply for relief to the Student Rights Defense Officer.
2. The Student Rights Defense Officer who received the relief application as per Paragraph 1 shall take necessary measures, such as notification for corrective action to the Office of Education, local offices of education, school, or faculty, after examining the case.
3. When the Student Rights Defense Officer takes measures [on the case under] Paragraph 2, [these] shall immediately be communicated to the Superintendent of Education, and key points [about them] shall be publicly announced.
4. Unless there are justifiable reasons, the Office of Education, local offices of education, school and/or faculty that received the notification for corrective action from the Student Rights Defense Officer must comply and execute the notification, and report the results to the Student Rights Defense Officer and Superintendent of Education immediately. In the event that the notifications of the Student Rights Defense Officer are not complied with, the reason for such noncompliance must be explained.

Article 45. [Inquiry]

1. In order to perform the duties of each subparagraph of Article 41 Paragraph 1, the Student Rights Defense Officer may request the Office of Education, local offices of education, or the school for data, as necessary, and may also question the faculty or related public employees.
2. In order to examine the application for relief according to Article 44 Paragraph 1, the Student Rights Defense Officer may make on-site [inquiries] if necessary.
3. [Members of] faculties and relevant public employees must respond with due diligence in the case of request for materials and questioning as stated in Paragraph 1, and in the case of onsite [inquiries] of Paragraph 2.

Chapter 5. Supplementary Rules

Article 46. Regulation Revision Screening Committee

1. In order to conform to this Ordinance that guarantees the human rights of students, the School must organize a screening committee for the enactment and revision of school rules and regulations (hereinafter referred to as Regulation Revision Screening Committee).
2. The Regulation Revision Screening Committee shall be composed of [members

of] faculty, guardians, and experts with knowledge or experience in human rights, and student representatives.

3. The Regulation Revision Screening Committee shall listen to the opinions of students in a democratic and feasible manner, and adhere to necessary procedures.

4. The Regulation Revision Screening Committee shall report the results to the Superintendent of Education after completing enactment or revision of regulations.

5. The Superintendent of Education may present guidelines pertaining to the direction of regulation revisions, procedures, and composition of the Regulation Revision Screening Committee.

Article 47. Enforcement Rules

1. Matters specifically designated in this Ordinance and matters necessary to enforce this Ordinance shall be as determined by the education rules.

Addenda

Article 1. Enforcement Date

1. This Ordinance shall enter into force on the date of its promulgation.

Article 2. Transitional Measures

1. The Superintendent of Education may temporarily [employ] Student Rights Defense Officers as non-regular members until the system for the full-time Student Rights Defense Officers is organized according to Article 39.

2. The School must organize a Regulation Revision Screening Committee as provided in Article 46 within six months after promulgation of this Ordinance.

Copied from Hurights Osaka (2013). Human rights education in Asia-Pacific. Osaka: Hurights Osaka.

This was translated first by the author of this thesis and edited.

APPENDICES 2. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Student_ Interview Questions (S High School)

Warming up

1) What does a mobile phone mean to you? What do you do with your mobile phone during the class time?
2) [To those who do their make-ups during the class hour] What does 'make-up mean to you?

Main

1) [The meanings of classes] What is the most interesting class? And what is the most boring class? What do you do in classes? – Just sleep? Do nothing? Do other things such as putting your make up or playing mobile games? Or do you listen to your teachers?
2) What do you do during class hours, break times, lunch times and after-school? When do you like most?
3) Who are 'good' friends? What kind of friends do you like and don't? Who do consider as 'a loser' among your friends or in your classroom?
4) How do you define 'a good student' and 'a bad student'?
5) What do you think about teachers? Who do like the best? A teacher who is an easy-going person? A teacher who are stubborn and strict? A teacher who teaches well? Etc..
6) What are the reasonable regulations in schools and what are not reasonable? What does 'penalty point' mean in your school life?

Wrap up

1) What does 'a school' mean to you? When do you like school? When do you dislike school?
2) What makes you fun these days? And what makes you annoying these days?

1. Teachers _ interview questions

   1) How do you manage your classroom? Any strategies?
   2) How do you describe children these days?
   3) What is the most difficult problem you face these days?
   4) What do you think about the school management system?
   5) What do you think about teachers' evaluation by students and parents?
   6) Do you have any experience of conflict between you and parents?
   7) What do you think about the prohibition of corporal punishment and the legislation for students' human rights?
   8) What do you think is a good education and a bad education?
   9) What do you think is the most significant problem in Korean society?
   10) What do you think is the most significant problem in Korean education?

Actual process in S high school

Warming up

   1) Use of mobiles in classes
   2) Issues of students' make-ups, hairs, uniforms, inner shoes, smoking

Main: What is the most difficult problem you face these days? Administrative work or relationship between you and students?
   3) Thoughts on corporal punishment, penalty point system and school regulations
   4) Thoughts on Students' Human Rights Ordinance, students' human rights and authorities of teachers
   5) Thoughts on school violence
   6) Experiences and strategies of class management as form tutors
   7) How do you prepare lessons?
   8) Thoughts on teachers' evaluation and school choice policy
   9) Thoughts on good teachers and bad teachers
   10) Describe students these days: Good students and bad students
   11) Relationship between you and parents, local communities
   12) How do you define 'school' (in relation to private education)?
   13) How do you define 'education?' – the significant problem in our society/ the significant problem in our education?

Wrap up

1) How often do you communicate with students? Any difficulties?
2) What do you do during the breaks and lunch time?
3) Who do you prefer – a good student or a bad student?

APPENDICES 3. QUESTIONNAIRE

Understanding School Culture and Peace education

Researcher: Soonjung Kwon (Phd Candidate, University of Birmingham)

This survey is conducted in order to understand the culture of students in schools. It will be great and honoured if you could spend your time and illustrate your thoughts and understandings of diverse events happen in your daily lives during school hours as well as after-school hours.

I demonstrated the principles of this survey below and I ensure that I follow those principles. And I ask for your consent before preceding the survey.

1. The descriptions which research participants have written and drawn will be used and be quoted only in this research.
2. Researchers should respect the diverse identities (e.g. age, gender, race, religion, political beliefs, etc) of the participants.
3. Researchers should recognize the participants' entitlement to privacy and must accord them their rights to confidentiality and anonymity.

Date:

Name: (Signature)

---

1. What do you need to know in order to spend your day in schools? Give 3-5 examples and reasons.

2. What do you need to know in order to live in our society? Give 3-5 examples and reasons.

3. Imagine if there is 'a violence' happening to me in schools, then what would be 'a violence' would look like? And why?

4. What is your definition of 'school violence and/or 'deviation'? And why?

5. Have you ever heard about 'School Charter for student's Human Rights?'
    Yes ☐   No ☐
6. Is there any difference in your school life after the implementation of 'students' human right legislation'?
    Yes ☐   No ☐
    If so, what are the differences? Or if not, why do you think there is no difference?

7. What is your definition of 'human rights'? And why?

8. Please draw any image when you think about 'something peace' and 'something peacelessness'.
   (If you feel difficult to draw, you can write your thoughts!)

★ Additional questions

1) Please demonstrate your language, including abuses, curses, etc, you use with your friends. Give five examples, and what do they mean?

2) What is your dream?

APPENDICES 4. CONSENT FORM

<Research Consent form>

Understanding school culture and peace education

Soon Jung Kwon (PhD student, University of Birmingham)

1. **Research theme**

Exploring the possibility and necessity of education for peace in school culture

2. **Research objectives**
- This study is to describe and understand the school culture by observing the interaction between teachers and students.
- This study is to demonstrate the needs of peace education in schools
- This study is to explore the possibility of implementing peace education.

3. **Research procedure**
- Method: Observation and interview
- Research period: 6 months
- Procedure: 1) Observe classroom (both class hour and break time)
  2) Select some students and teachers who are willing to participate in interviews, and then conduct the interview according to interviewees' conveniences

4. **Duty of researcher**
- Before conducting the research, researchers must take the steps necessary to ensure that all participants in the research understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported. -> Researchers should ensure participants in the research understand the process.
- Researchers should explain their role to the participants.

- Researchers should respect the diverse identities (e.g. age, gender, race, religion, political beliefs, etc) of the participants.
- Researchers should recognize the participants' entitlement to privacy and must accord them their rights to confidentiality and anonymity.
- Researchers should take a consideration that this research is not harmful to the participants.

5. **Rights of research participants**
- Participants can be active or passive subjects of such processes as observation.
- Participants have their right to withdraw from the research for any or no reason.
- In case of students, they also have the same rights as adults (teachers and parents) following Articles 3 and 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.
- In case of students whose age, intellectual capability or other vulnerable circumstances, adults who act in guardianship (e.g. parents) or as 'responsible others' (i.e. those who have responsibility for the welfare and well-being of the participants e.g. social workers).

Date:

Name:

(signature)